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The Three great races
of men.

By J. B. Turner.



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Book 792

THREE GREAT RACES OF MEN:

ORIGIN, CHARACTER, HISTORY AND DESTINY.

BY

JOHN B. TURNER

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P R E F A C E.

The *Journal of the Library* men will doubtless smile at many of the ideas and expressions herein contained; but I trust the true philosopher will not be disposed to meet the frank, and unreserved, and unrestrained expression of the plain and simple thoughts of one who can stand only as the representative of the thousands of unlearned men in the land who think the same things.

without, perhaps, either the disposition or the leisure and capacity to give them utterance. From some knowledge of the unlettered working-men of the nation, I can assure him that these are the thoughts that lie deep in the heart of the great mass of their most intelligent men, which do and will form the basis of their practical action, whether they ever give them utterance in words or not. Their hearty practical contempt for the manifold shams in our age and time, both in Church and in State, grows out of innate intuition, which the reader will find herein more or less clearly expressed. No right, however, is claimed of speaking even in their behalf: they can and will speak for themselves—at least at the polls.

The reasons for the necessity of HOPE, to both the white and the black races, at the South, the reader will find noted; without which there can be neither hope for the Republic nor for the Continent.

Much herein contained was deemed, when first uttered to private audiences, some years ago, prophetic, if not wholly visionary, in its character. I leave all those parts to stand just as first written, so that my readers will see with what fearful rapidity prophesy has already become history. All that relates to the future prospects of the black race and of the union of the States, he should consider as uttered at that date.

I trust the book will interest the Eastern man, as showing him a type or specimen of the thousands of our unsophisticated men of the West; and the Southern man, as showing him a specimen of a genuine ULTRA ABOLITIONIST, who has voted the extreme anti-slavery ticket for twenty years past, and is ready to DO, DARE and RAY as much for the best good, and the highest possible freedom of both master and slave, as any other man in the circle of his acquaintance; and, if the slaveholder would condescend to read even this little book, he would see how grossly he has been led to misunderstand all our ends and aims by the false representations of a few imbecile and profligate political demagogues. But I am not authorized to speak for the Abolitionists, or any other class—though I distinctly claim to be one; for I regard it not as a term of reproach, but as a term of honor. I most sincerely wish to abolish all tyranny and all wrong toward the white race and the black—toward the master and the slave; and with the hope of contributing to this great end alone was this little book written, amid many pressing and urgent labors and cares.

It may strike some that the first chapters, on geographical subjects, and on the nature of liberty and government, are irrelevant and tedious; but I think, after a full survey of the whole subject, it will be seen that without such considerations no intelligent opinion could be formed. At any rate, opinions formed on the basis of mere conventionalisms, without a specific regard to the ultimate facts, laws and principles which must ever control all actual and possible events, must ever be found excessively shallow, superficial and unsatisfactory to every rational and thinking mind.

J. B. TURNER.

JACKSONVILLE, ILLINOIS, *February 1, 1861.*

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CHAPTER I.

If we look at any part of the Creator's plan, we everywhere find it to be UNITY in VARIETY. Man seeks order in a dead uniformity: God in endless variety. Man would dig down the continents and mountains into a dead level of fields, or of railroads, or cast them into the sea to build cities and wharves upon. But God with His volcanoes and earthquakes, heaves up more in an hour than they all can cart away in a thousand years.

Man would spread the dead level of some petty democracy, or despotism, or sect, over all the earth, and over Heaven, too, if he could, like a white winding-sheet over a great dead giant. But God, with His great moral and political volcanoes and earthquakes, will throw more anarchies, and schisms, and endless disorders into their ill-timed work, in a single day, than they can all compose in a thousand years. And until they begin to seek ORDER and UNITY on His plan, of ENDLESS VARIETY, they will never succeed till they become both wiser and stronger than He is.

Again. Everywhere in the works of God we find law fading into law, being into being, species into species, race into race, worlds into atoms, and atoms into worlds, so that we can nowhere say, "here this begins, and here that ends;" but all things begin and end in God: infinite unity and infinite variety; and so far does this variety proceed that there can be no two things or beings exactly alike on the face of the whole earth, if, indeed, in the whole Universe of God. In classifying the different races of men, therefore, we may make three or five or five million divisions, as best suits our purpose on hand. My present purpose leads me to make three classes, two extremes and one middle race; the BLACK and the WHITE races on the extremes, and the COLORED or YELLOW or TAWNY race, intermediate.

I am well aware that these three races are at present jostled and tumbled together, all over the face of the earth, in the most astonishing seeming confusion, by the force of avarice and passion as well as by conquests, wars and revolutions, through a long series of ages. But still, I have not the least doubt, that the natural home of all varieties of the black man, is near the equator; that of the yellow and tawny races, near the tropics; and that of the white man nearest to the poles, in what are commonly called the temperate zones. The black and dusky men that are now near the poles, were undoubtedly driven there by their enemies, or transported as slaves, while all the white men under the equator, were forced there by the inordinate love of gain or power, or by some other unnatural casualty or cause. And if peace and righteousness ever cover the earth long enough to let natural physical causes work out their own inevitable results, we shall find in general, only black or very dark men under the equator; only yellow or dusky men near the tropics; and only white men nearer to the poles. Hence, we may properly call the black the EQUATORIAL RACE, the yellow, the TROPICAL, and the white, the POLAR race, in respect to their natural geographical location: The Baconed races of Mongolias and Esquimaux, the red races of Indians and our half-breeds, I do not include in the distinctly yellow race, although in all probability, they are all—except our half-breeds—a degenerate off-shoot from it, but by their peculiar habits, intermixtures and wanderings, they have become a sort of mongrels, like the mulattoes, or men of all climes, like the American Indians; of which classes we shall speak more particularly hereafter. I, of course, use terms denoting color only in a loose and general sense; and the terms denoting location only in the same sense; since the actual causes which make all men in process of ages, who come under them, either black, yellow, or white, run round the earth in isothermal, and not in equatorial or tropical lines. Nor do I now affirm that any particular race now extant, will, in the far future, be either here or there, or even continue to exist. I only here affirm, that whatever race does ultimately exist, especially on the great continents under the equator, must be a black race, and have all the essential peculiarities of our present black man; and whatever race exists under the tropics, must be a yellow or tawny race, and have all the peculiarities of that race; and whatever race exists to the north of this must be a white or

ruddy race, and have its peculiarities. This is as much the law of nature, the will of God, as is the law of gravity or the rolling of the spheres. I shall hereafter propose my reasons for this belief.

According to the scriptures, the great stream of white men flowed from Western Asia, Northward and Westward, from Father Japhet, over Europe and the whole Northwest. The stream of yellow men flowed eastward and Southward, from Shem, over Asia, and the whole Southeast; while the stream of black men flowed South, from Ham, over Africa and the whole South. I accept this account here only on the ground of its probability; and whether the reader receives or rejects it, will make no difference with the arguments or the conclusions to which we shall arrive. Each one may hold his own theory as respects the origin of any one, or all of these races. All I wish him to grant is, that they are here by some means, and that being here, they must be governed by those natural causes that govern the world.

We must, therefore, pause here to look at one or two geographical and physical characteristics of the globe we inhabit, which have inevitably and inexorably fixed the location, character, history and destiny of each of these races, beyond the power of men or of angels materially to change it, without a recreation of the very granite foundation of the great globe itself.

I. In respect to TEMPERATURE, heat and cold, the earth may be divided Eastward and Westward into three great zones or belts of temperature: 1st. An EQUATORIAL ZONE, where frost never comes. 2d. A TROPICAL ZONE, where frost rarely comes. 3d. A POLAR ZONE, where all things are frozen solid for some months in the year. The five zones of the geographer we will therefore drop, as being of no present use to us; and what is commonly called the Polar or Frigid Zone we will leave wholly out of the account, as being a mere incidental appendage, and properly no more a part of the habitable globe than the snow-ball on a man's boot-heel is a part of the man; and by the Polar Zone—I here mean that part of the habitable earth which lies some degrees North of the tropics, and extends indefinitely to the North—the zone in which we live, and more commonly called, in part, the Temperate Zone—as already intimated; one of these zones naturally breeds black men; the next one yellow or tawny men, and the last white men. If we include all that lies between the geographical tropics in the Equatorial

Zone, and divide the remainder equally, each of these portions contain about an equal portion of the earth's habitable surface, and of course this division of zones, assigns to each of these three great races about an equal extent of territory, as their peculiar patrimony. Different degrees of altitude, or of heat and moisture from other causes, will produce in very limited locations the same practical effects, as removal from the poles, or the equator. But the great general law is still unvaried.

II. Let us look at the earth again longitudinally, and we shall still find three great divisions, Eastern, Middle, and Western, (as we are accustomed to speak.) 1st. The Eastern, comprising the great strip, or glade, or continent of Asia. 2d. The middle strip, comprising Europe and Africa. 3d. The Western, North and South America. Each of these longitudinal strips, or glades, or continents, according to geographers, are of about equal extent, or about fifteen million square miles each; and thus, again, about an equal area, as a field for enterprise and empire, is assigned by the Creator to each of these races, by the creation of the globe itself. For we will now notice, first, that on the Asiatic or Eastern continent there is no proper theater for the black man. Here, the home of the black man—the Equatorial Zone—is chopped off and sunk in the Indian Ocean, or cut up into Highland Capes, Promontories and Islands. He has here no proper *continental* territory; and nothing but a wide continental territory will answer for the breeding ground of races while still on the mainland. But while the space for the white man in the North of Asia is large, it is so sterile and inhospitable, as to force him continually to war and plunder rather than to tillage and art, and was, therefore, from the earliest ages abandoned by him, to the mongrel Mongolian race of wandering shepherds and warriors. It is whelmed in great deserts of sand, sunk in marshy swamps, or piled in rocky mountain heights, so bleak, inhospitable, and shut out from the white man's peculiar uses, till achieved arts have advanced him far along in his career of destiny—the *final conquest and enslavement of the* POWERS of NATURE, as will hereafter be seen. The Russian government, by her new interests in railroads, and in machinery and mechanism, and especially, by throwing back, annually, ten thousand white, hardy exiles, into the wilds of Siberia, in addition to their natural increase, is already beginning this great work, which will ultimately redeem to the white race the

whole area naturally belonging to them; and while I cannot but admire the wisdom of God in this arrangement of these first great hive of the human race, I cannot stop to depict the inevitable and untold needless misery, from war, devastation, plunder and slavery, that must have resulted to the human race, if either an Equatorial or a habitable Polar Zone had been added to this great continent, from the necessary conflict of these diverse and therefore hostile races.

But if we look to the next great middle division, or continent of the earth, comprising Europe and Africa, we find exactly the reverse of all this: for here, the greater part of the natural home of the yellow man is sunk in the Mediterranean Sea, or lost in the great deserts of Africa; while Europe furnishes a most magnificent theater for the arts and arms of the white man, and Africa an equally safe and congenial home for the black man. But between these two extreme races, in the place for the yellow man, we find what was an impassable sea, and what still is an impassable desert. The progenitors of the white man went out to their arts, their wars, their conquests and their destinies, Northward, into Europe; those of the black man took their way to the South, toward their torrid home; and centuries rolled away, and they never met again, or knew that each other existed on the face of the earth. For purposes of wonderful wisdom, as we shall soon see, God said, *"let them be separate;"* and they were separate. He has since said, *"let them meet;"* and they have met. All is wise; God is wise; and God is good. The causes and ends of their meeting, too, we will soon explain. But let us look, for a moment more, at this old home of the black men—CENTRAL AFRICA.

Its shores and coasts are barricaded and blockaded on all sides, with a deluge of mud or of sand, or an inaccessible rampart of forests and rocks. Even its mountains and rivers all run contrawise, as if undecided where the sea is, or whether, indeed, there ought to be any. With a climate so warm, and a soil so productive, that little or nothing is wanted at home, while nothing can be carried abroad, there stands old Africa, grand, unique, solitary and sublime; with the pestilence and the death-lamp ever on her brow, and blowing her deadly simoons and siroccos in the face of all intruders; almost as unknown still, as in the days of Ham; proferring the splendor of her jewels, and breathing the frankincense

of her spices and her myrrh, toward heaven alone, but saying to all earth, AVAUNT! AVAUNT! It is as though God had said to the black man, speaking through all nature's voice, "Son, thou shalt know no being, no thing, but me alone;" as though God, amid these torrid deserts, and ramparts of rock, of sand, of jungles, and of mud, had constructed his secret LABORATORY OF HUMANITY, into which, during the mighty process of the mystery of the ages, he would permit none but angel eyes to look, till the apocalyptic hour of his own right hand should fully come. At any rate, on the white man's end, or the Northern European end, of this middle, longitudinal division of the earth, all has been open, known, and gazed at by the world—accessible, revealed, intellectual, aggressive, antagonistic, progressive and triumphant; while, on the African, or black man's end, all has been closed, contraband, inaccessible, mysterious and inscrutable; filled with wants, without knowledge or arts; and conflicts and sufferings, without triumphs; with toil and agony, to weak human eyes, without reward, end or progress—but not in God's eyes, as we shall see before we close.

We come now to the third, or the Western, great longitudinal division of the earth, comprising North and South America. And here again, precisely as in the Central division, and lying alongside of it—"pari passu"—North America alongside of Europe, and South America alongside of Africa—we find the tropical home of the YELLOW MAN, mostly sunk in the ocean and the Caribbean Sea; while, at the North, the white man has a theater of action and enterprise, surpassing even the fables, to say nothing of the realities, of the Old World. All its mighty rivers and navigable streams pour Southward, toward the black man's natural home. Here are climates, soils, lakes, seas, cataracts and water-falls; iron like stone; gold like pebbles; all forces and powers; all capabilities, resources and productive energies; all saying, with their ten thousand tongues, to the white man, "work, work; know, know; invent, invent; progress, progress; conquer, conquer;" and he does work, and know, and progress, and conquer, and triumph, as no other being on earth ever did or could.

South of this, directly over against the old home of the black man, in Africa, lies South America—the Brazils—the great valley of the Amazon—with the most luxuriant climate, the richest soil, and the mightiest river on the face of the earth—navigable

for the largest steamers, for tens of thousands of miles. all through it, with its great mouth open one hundred and fifty miles wide, on the Equator, directly toward Africa—beyond all question, and all comparison, the largest, and richest, and most luxuriant and magnificent river and land beneath the whole circuit of the sun! This, too, is, I suppose, the home of somebody, is it not? or is it only for crocodiles, panthers and mosquitoes? Whose shall this be? That it must ultimately become, like all other equatorial lands, the home of a black man, of some sort, or lie in perpetual waste, is certain, unless God reverses all the laws of nature by a perpetual miracle. Will he, then, use the millions of black men he has already produced, through ages of agonism? or will he, as some affirm, ANNHILATE ALL THESE, and create or produce a new black race? That is, do all his past work over again, so as to do it better, according to our Anglo-Saxon notions of fitness and propriety. For my own part, I confess that I am more than half inclined to assume, without farther proof, that God did not make old Africa as he did, for nothing—that he has not nurtured one hundred millions of men there in secret, through all the long ages, for nothing—that he did not create by far the most magnificent land on the face of the earth, the great valley of the Amazon, for nothing—and that thus far he has done all his work, both on continents and races, most admirably well, and has no need to do it all over again, our Anglo-Saxon pride, and theories, and speculations, to the contrary notwithstanding. But I will not ask others to admit it yet, but go on to complete our proofs.

It is proper here to remark, that if this view is correct, no yellow race can ever long exist on this continent as an independent race. God has made no home, no theater here for them. They may exist as individuals, but as independent and thoroughly organized nationalities they never can; and whether our present Indians and Mexicans are an offshoot from the original proper yellow race in Asia, or not, they are either destined to a total and inevitable extinction, or to be overrun and swallowed up by the two great races for whom the whole continent was evidently made: the democratic whites on the North, and the monarchial blacks on the South.

But let us look, for a moment, a little more particularly to this new home of the black man—South America. And the first thing we should notice is its great and exceeding richness of soil and

mines in all possible spontaneous productions; its immense forests of precious woods, fruits, spices and flowers; its boundless fertile prairie fields; its teeming myriads of animal life. But the chief thing I wish here to notice is the fact that in its geological and geographical structure it is the direct antipodes of the old African continent, though lying in the same climate and guarded by the same ever-wakeful sentinels of pestilence and of death against the prolonged intrusion of the white man. As we have seen, in Africa all was closed, hidden and mysterious, from the very nature of the continent itself; but here, in Brazil, all is thrown more widely open by far than in any other country in the world. The mighty Amazon is itself navigable for 4,000 miles, almost to the Pacific coast on the west. Its thousand tributaries, which coil around and through the land, some of them flowing quite round into the Carribean Sea, are navigable for tens of thousands of miles more, while on their very banks are exhaustless forests of precious wood, mines of coal, precious stones, salt, and metals of all sorts, and every possible product of the richest of all possible climes and soils. This country—so open and accessible—so rich in all natural products—is considerably larger than the whole territory of the United States, and with its great natural canals, all built—its present crop of untold value, all fully planted and grown by the hand of God himself—it is intrinsically worth a dozen just such countries as ours. Its simple product of gum elastic, to speak of no other, bids fair, in the progress of art, to be worth more to the commerce of the world than all the natural vegetable products of the whole temperate zone put together. I am not unaware, in this statement, of the immense undrained pestilential marshes, the hordes of crocodiles and other monsters and the untold myriads of verminous and offensive forms, of both vegetable and animal life, with which God has effectually fenced the white man out of this new western home of his sable sons—as a barrier against an invading foe, even more effectual than the great deserts and jungles of the old world; but still, unlike these, offering not the slightest obstacle to the fullest and freest commercial and peaceful intercourse. Now look this country of South America all over—its rivers, its natural commerce, its climate, its soil, its products—and ask, in view of these facts, for whom did God make this peculiar, this mighty land, the whole of which seems to say to its

future possessor, whoever he may be, from all its thousand streams, and plateaux, and mountain heights, and forest homes, "Son, thou hast seen thy days of sorrow and of woe: I have brought thee, at last, to a large place — a safe home — a goodly land: live, worship and enjoy, and let all earth hear and know thy final songs of gratitude and of praise!" But we are not ready to decide so great a question, as yet: for by this survey of continents and of climates, we have only obtained, as it were, our "*apo stou*" — a proper platform — from which to take a general survey of these races themselves, and to note the peculiarities which these inevitable physical causes have wrought in each.

And here, as the Asiatic or yellow or tawny man is and ever must be, as a ruling or a dominant populative power, confined mainly to old Asia, and has no natural home on either this continent of ours or the one east of it, we will drop him out of our discussion, simply observing that he partakes of the excellencies and defects of each of the extreme races, and has been, in past history, decidedly the finest specimen of man on earth, so far as his natural capacities and qualities are concerned.

Under or near to the Northern edge of the isothermal tropical line we shall find the immediate or more remote ancestors of the Peruvians, the Mexicans, the Moors, the Carthagenians, the Egyptians, the Portuguese, the Spaniards, the Romans, the Greeks, the Jews, the Arabians, the Persians, the Northern Indians and the Chinese. From these races have sprung the finest specimens of art and taste — the finest literature and poetry and eloquence, nearly all the enduring religions and the strongest and most civilized empires of earth. In literature, policy, faith and art, these nations have taken the lead and given the law to the world; though not equal to their more Northern neighbors in mechanics, science, metaphysics, physical products, power and war, for necessary reasons, which will be made plain as we proceed.

I cannot pause here to note the multitude of obvious seeming objections which must arise in the mind of the intelligent reader, to what has already been said. It would require me to discuss the long centuries of war and invasion from the North and Northwest, which forced millions of the proper yellow race of Southern Asia, round the Eastern edge of that continent, over the North of China and the Empire of Japan, and carried them (especially their fe-

males) as slaves, and scattered them by thousands all over the North of Asia, and ultimately, by emigration, over Europe, if not over all America, quite away from their original and natural tropical homes; thus producing the peculiar mixed or Mongolian races of the North, which have not yet had time to fade into the true Northern color and type.

It is at least a fair question, whether the vast number of elephant skeletons on the Siberian coast are not both an index and a result of these terrible and incessant invasions of India and China from the North. The barbarians would naturally take all the elephants they could find to bear their captives and their booty to their Northern home, where, as the cold season approached, they would as naturally perish, and be thrown into their rivers and floated down to the Northern seas, till the whole Southern country would, at last, be almost swept clean of animals of this description; at any rate, the yellow man is no more a natural and original product of the North than is the elephant, so far as we have any reason to believe.

There are many reasons to think that our American Indians were originally from this same yellow race, and driven across Bhe-rings Strait by the same general cause; but wandering in all directions, they became a red race or a race of all climes, till at last a part of them fell in with the plains of Mexico and the mountain heights of Peru, where they found a climate and soil more like their original tropical home, and, therefore, began on a narrow theater, and on a small scale, a new development of the peculiar instinctive manners and habits of their original tropical race. The rest remained still wanderers upon the face of the earth, because here, the yellow man can find no congenial home; and they had already shown themselves totally incapable of grappling successfully with either the frosts of the Northern continent or the torrid heat of the Southern one, before either the white man came to claim the one, or the black man to prepare to claim the other; and before these two great races, all this mongrel, or perhaps yellow race is destined to melt away like the dew before the rising sun. And some imagine that, because this Indian or yellow race is thus in this process of extinction, that the black man must, in time, meet the same fate, from the same causes. But it so happens that the real causes which are in operation in each case, instead of being the

same, are diametrically the opposite, as the slightest consideration will show. For it is self-evident that there are two modes of supremacy which any given race may maintain on any given soil or in any given climate: the one a supremacy in power, the other a supremacy in numbers. Now, in whatever place any given race cannot maintain its supremacy in power, it must exist, of course, only as a subject race, though it may still forever hold its supremacy in numbers. But, if it has not the capacity, either to rule or to populate and occupy the country, or to hold on to its supremacy, either in power or in numbers, it is self-evident that it must perish altogether, and the quicker it does so, and thus makes room for a more congenial race, the better it will be for the great whole. In other words, God grants a perpetual lease to all races who can successfully populate a land, and a full title deed only to those who can both populate and rule it: all others are mere temporary occupants to be moved out at pleasure, whenever the stronger claimants come. Now, this tawny race in America, under this great law, had already shown that they could neither populate nor rule any considerable part of this continent, either North or South, and therefore could do no less than give way before the white and black races, who have abundantly demonstrated their capacity to do both—either working separately, or together, as now. And under this same great law, by which the yellow man has perished out of America, the white man will at last perish out of all Equatorial, and the black man out of all frozen climes: and Canada is as unfit a place for a negro as Greenland or Guinea is for a Yankee. But mere inferiority, either in civilization or in power, never was the cause of the extinction of any race on the face of the earth, and probably never will be; on the contrary, manifold, such sturdy and subject races have come up to the final masterdom of those above them. Doubtless, the excessive power of the white man will annihilate all other races wherever he can at all keep up his numbers; and by the same law, the excessive numbers of the yellow race in Asia, and of the black race in Africa and South America, must at last overwhelm the power and exterminate the white races from all those regions. The black man, at this moment, holds the supremacy, both in power and in numbers, in old Africa and in St. Domingo, on this continent, in his own way, against ages of combined antagonism and hostility, which no other race has ever endured or

sustained: whenever the chance is once given him, he will do it all over the Equatorial world, in time to come, as he has done in time past; and the absurd notion that millions of men, of any race whatever, can anywhere upon the face of the earth, toil day and night, year after year, and century after century, for the good of others, quietly, peacefully and patiently in the great pursuits of human industry and well-being, and bear up under it without war, or tumult, or rebellion, merely as a prelude to the utter extinction of their race from the earth, with no hope and no history for the future, is an idea that will never be realized till God Almighty abdicates His throne, and Satan usurps universal empire in his stead. All seeming examples of such a horrid atrocity in the moral government of the world, are only seeming, they never were and never can be real.

Nor perhaps need I say that I am now looking at these races of men merely as breeders, or *sources of population*, and not at all as masters or rulers, or sources of political power; for though the white race should wholly conquer both Asia and Africa, and rule them for centuries, still their population will be propagated and bred, not by Europeans, but by the races now on the ground, however subjected and enslaved. Our own negroes, even now, though quite out of their natural climate, breed faster than their masters, and under an Equatorial sun, they would surpass them four to one, however much enslaved.

We leave, then, for the present, the white race, as the inevitable possessors of Europe, the black of Africa, and the yellow of Asia; a result which was fixed, if not designed, by the very formation of the granite rock of the great globe, which no human or even angelic power could change, without new-creating the solid globe itself. Of course, our Anglo-Saxon gasconade will not be likely to disturb it; to complete the complement of these areas, the white man should take possession of North America, and the black man of South America; then, and only then will the full equilibrium of the three great races be restored; and then will the equal sons of Noah hold nearly equal parts of the habitable globe. Will this be done? We will inquire further.

CHAPTER II.

But before entering upon the survey and comparison of these two races, their innate character, and consequent diverse civilization and institutions, it may be well to say a few words about the real and essential nature of FREEDOM and SLAVERY—of JUSTICE and INJUSTICE—and of those diverse innate tendencies and developments in human nature, which inevitably result in their various forms of social and civil order.

The great trouble with the American mind is, that it cannot conceive of either justice or liberty, outside of the peculiar democratic machinery with which we have chosen to administer the one and preserve the other. But this is simply mistaking the mill for the flour it grinds, or the pudding for the peculiar bag in which it is held and boiled; and with us, the mere mill seems to be becoming everything, and the grist almost nothing. Whether justice or liberty can continue to live on the bare mill-stones of republican democracy, without any grist in the hopper, remains to be seen. But neither freedom nor justice can ever be the mere creatures of law, for the plain reason that they are, and ever must be, above all law.

WHAT, THEN, IS LIBERTY? I take it to be, not simply the natural right of man, but equally the NATURAL RIGHT OF EVERY SENTIENT BEING, or thing, that God has ever made, namely: a RIGHT to a sphere of ACTION and ENJOYMENT, proportioned to the PECULIAR CAPACITIES for such action and enjoyment which God has given to each creature. The oyster needs a very narrow range; the angel a very wide one. The infant child, under the absolute control of its parents or guardians, is in fact perfectly free, when allowed to play in the front yard of its father's house; but Napoleon Bonaparte needed all Europe for his play-ground; and he pined away

and died at St. Helena, under the conscious restraints of a practical slavery, amid external surroundings which would have made more than half the human race the freest and the happiest men on earth. The wolf can be free only in the forest range; but his own twin-brother, the house-dog, cannot be free, with the whole world to roam in, without his own chosen master, to love, to guard, to watch, and to adore; and he would sooner starve, and die at his feet, than he would forsake him; and, if forced to do so, he would seek another master, even before he sought his needful food. Now, which of these are the more noble animals of the two, admits of a variety of opinions. I presume a general congress or convention of wolves would decide the question, with great positiveness and vehemence, one way, and that of the dogs the other; and it would be of but very little use for them both to undertake to argue the case together, in any general assembly whatever. They would find great difficulty in understanding each other, and might produce a general "dissolution of the Union," or at least a great split in the universal canine church. The lion cannot be made free without meat, nor the ox without grass; the whale needs an ocean, and the wiggler a mud-puddle; one man must have an empire, another a republic, another a shop, another a study, another a corn or cane field, another an insane or idiotic asylum, or they cannot be truly, appropriately and wisely free. Yet all these alike are placed by God under a perfectly absolute and resistless power, either in the absolute and irresistible will of their superiors, or of their fellow-beings combined; for no monarch can resist the world, nor yet his combined subjects; and he is ever wholly in their irresponsible power. Thus, while all beings may be, and should be, in one sense, free, all ARE, and MUST ever be, in another sense, perfectly subject and enslaved; and no laws or forms can change these facts.

The present white man cannot be free, without some chance to tinker at Church and State. He must be a sovereign of some sort, though a sovereign in rags; and if he cannot govern empires, he will at least plot treasons. But the poor black man, with his cot and garden, and a few dollars per month, is rendered perfectly free and happy—"content, and careless of to-morrow's fare."

How easy, how good, and how beautiful a thing it is, then, to make a fellow-creature free, in spite of all external forms and laws;

and how impossible is it, to do it by these alone!! Reader, have you done all you could to make all God's creatures around you truly free? For to this they have all equal rights; and if, under this sublime and beautiful higher law of freedom, which stretches over all sentient being, and assigns to each its true place and sphere,

"Proud man exclaims, 'See all things for my use!'

"See man for mine," replies the pampered goose."

Still, it is self-evident, from this view of freedom, that no living creature can be made truly free, in the highest and best sense of that term, when far removed from that peculiar climate for which nature has fitted and prepared it. And it is not in the power of man, nor indeed of God himself, without a re-creating of the globe, to give the white man a proper sphere of freedom in Greenland or in Guinea, or the black man such a sphere in Canada or the United States; and as the black man of Liberia and Hayti wisely adopt laws and policies to drive white men out from them toward the North, so we should adopt similar laws and policies, to crowd the black race South, toward the only latitudes in which it is possible in nature that either should be in fact truly free, or find a proper sphere of action and enjoyment. The white bear and the elephant could as properly change places on the globe as the white and black races.

It is apparent, also, that no man's right to freedom, therefore, depends at all, as is often supposed, on the fact that he is a man, but on the far broader fact that he is a sentient being, endowed by his Creator with a certain given amount, more or less, of capacity for ACTION, for SUFFERING, and for ENJOYMENT, demanding, in its own nature, an appropriate sphere of action and existence; and the number of his legs, or the shape of his head, or the color of his body, or the bare name we give him, whether that of man or animal, cannot in the least degree affect his rights. The utmost that all this can do is to affect merely our sympathies and willingness to accord his rights, and in no degree the rights themselves, so long as he still retains, in any shape, human or animal, or under any name, a given capacity as a sentient being; and the brute in human shape that would needlessly, or selfishly and wantonly, rob even a horse or a dog of this God-given right, would do the same to men and to angels, and, if he could, to God himself; and he deserves the execration, not simply of mankind, but of universal

being. I will not stop to show here, in what cases, or by what means, the higher orders of being are justified in compelling the lower to FILL THEIR APPROPRIATE SPHERES, if unwilling, or may deprive them of them entirely, from regard to the general higher good. It would lead into too wide a field. Suffice it to say, all modes of human life, and all forms of social order, imply this reserved right; but in no case is this divine right of freedom to be wantonly sacrificed, or trodden down, even in the case of an insect, without a proportionate sin against universal being, and the universal God and Father of all being. And what is JUSTICE, but simply rendering or according to each sentient being such a sphere of action and enjoyment, and securing it to them, by all the means in our power? This actually done, by whatever institutions and means, in whatever condition, and under whatever names, and forms, and laws, or under no laws, institutions or forms at all, REAL JUSTICE IS DONE. And though it is a duty to strive to RAISE our fellow-creatures, of all sorts, in the scale of being, and thus to enlarge their capacities, both of action and enjoyment, and thus fit them for still wider and higher spheres of freedom, it is still a duty of MERCY, and not of JUSTICE, in which duty each man may or may not engage, as he chooses, (for mercy admits of no compulsion;) and if he omits it altogether, Justice cannot frown, though Mercy may weep, over his delinquency.

We thus see how individuals may wholly keep the law of liberty and of justice, while the States and the laws under which they live may wholly ignore or violate it, toward the same identical persons or beings; and *vice versa*, how the State and Institution may conserve the law, while its people and individuals trample it under foot. And, after all that has been said, the individual cannot be held responsible for the State, nor the State for the individual, for it is not possible that the one should wholly control the other.

What particular FORMS of GOVERNMENT — whether the so-called free or despotic — can best preserve the living reality of freedom and of justice to all, depends upon the times and the peculiar character and habits of the people themselves; and I question if that God of infinite variety, who will not have two insects, or two peas, or two leaves, or even two hairs exactly alike, on the face of the whole earth, will ever have a dead uniformity of States and Empires over any considerable part of it; and whether our own

democratic experiment will not at last prove an attempt to govern men by ABSTRACT PRINCIPLE who have no principle, just as our Sec-tarianisms and Catholicisms are an attempt to govern the Church where there is and can be no real church to be governed, remains to be seen. But under this higher law of all sentient being, all men have an INALIENABLE RIGHT not to a monarchy, or an aristocracy, or a democracy—not to this or that mode or form of human government, civil or domestic, in Church or in State, or in the household—but simply a right to this ETERNAL JUSTICE, dispensed where, or how, or by whomsoever it may be, whether with votes or without them—with crowns or miters or without them—under forms or laws called slave or free—or as our own most admirable declaration has it: a right, not to ballot boxes, or to democratic institutions, courts or laws—not to any particular means—but to the GREAT END, “LIFE, LIBERTY and the PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS”—to this ETERNAL JUSTICE between man and man, by whomsoever or howsoever defended and dispensed. Here, then, is the true higher law over all races, all monarchies and all democratic majorities—the great law that binds the unity and final bliss of the race, as gravity does the motion and harmony of the endlessly varied spheres. Unity amid variety! And these few remarks must suffice for the ground of the freedom, unity and final fraternity of all races, while we pass on to contemplate the great diversities of character, mode, choice and forms of institutions and governments which must still ever exist.

But if we could stop to look at facts, we should note that Socrates, the best and wisest of all the ancients, lived and perished under a democracy; and Jesus, a higher than man, under the hand of a monarchy. Monarchical outlaws war, rob and murder by enacted law, in Asia; and democratic and republican outlaws in America. Barbarian despotisms pillage and plunder, it is true, in Africa; but it fairly admits of a question whether our professedly civilized christianities have not robbed and murdered more men, in Asia and about Sebastopol, in ten years, than the barbarian Africans have ever done in a whole century. Washington wisely founded a republic; Alfred, and Peter the Great, and Garibaldi as wisely deferred to a monarchy; but neither of these political mills will grind out much freedom, unless their people put some little humanity and manhood in the hopper to grind. Our Northern doughfaces

and our Southern fire-eaters make decidedly an unlucky grist: the one heats the spindle and the other clogs the bur-stones quite too much. For in a republic there are two distinct and independent ideas: the one of democracy, the other of confederacy or consolidation. Now, the aboriginal Indians, even, were sufficiently civilized, politically, to understand and practice the first about as well as we do—indeed, it seems to be the natural state of all Northern tribes; but the other idea of confederacy or consolidation, or union of real democracies, into a republic, is a far higher idea, and requires a higher order of civilization than either our American Indians or fire-eaters have ever reached. This consolidation of the democratic tribes and races under the Russian government, and its progress toward freedom, is a most curious and interesting phenomena. Our women and children are at all times more secure in all their natural rights, without office or voting or ruling, than we are with it; all of which, and much else, tends to show that while this eternal justice may underlie all possible forms and states of society, whether called free or not, it may even more easily perish out of the best of them, and out of all alike. In other words, they are all alike—at best, nothing but a variable and uncertain means; and not the great ETERNAL END of all action, all being and all law.

Now, in Liberia, in Africa, even under a republican form like our own, and also in Hayti, W. I., every white man is denied, just as every black man is here, all right of citizenship, as it is called, in the State; and yet no white man there complains of this, or has any cause to complain, because the black men there give them all this substantial justice—a real though not a political freedom—and if the whites would do the same by the blacks here, they would have just as little reason to complain; and if they will not do it without the force of formal law, they would not probably do it with it: for no law can really force the popular will, in any country—it can only express it; and a regeneration of wills is the only practical course toward a regeneration of the laws. Not merely technical and ecclesiastic, based on a change without a difference; but practical and real. For it is not mere intellections or abstractions, or the formal machinery of some cant orthodoxy of faith or polity—democratic or otherwise—that mainly protects any race or any man in his real rights; but only the living sentiment of justice, written, not in the head, (much less on tanned

sheep-skins,) but in the great, ever-living heart of the people. With this, the highest freedom is under all modes and forms possible, and without it, it is EVERYWHERE equally impossible. And in a natural capacity for this ever-living and Divine sentiment of the human soul, the black man is, as we shall see, not only the equal, but vastly the superior of the Northern races, and will, therefore, need far less abstract machinery of government, fewer democratic safe-guards and props and crutches, to enable both his liberty and his justice to stand and walk the earth alone; while with the Northern races this generous sentiment needs all the political and legislative poulticing and blistering and bolstering it can possibly get, and even then it seems constantly to relapse into some new attack of scrofulous selfishness and egotism. Our greatest political and social danger seems to lie in the fact that we are striving to elevate great multitudes of white men to a sphere of action entirely above their capacity, while we at the same time strive to crowd the black man down even below his appropriate and natural sphere. A white fool may be not only a voter, but a ruler, legislator, senator, governor, judge, or even president of the United States; while a black philosopher cannot be even a free man.

The ground-work of all human development or civilization seems to be this: The whole world in which we live is God's great patent machine for grinding over conflicts, antagonisms, suffering, sorrow, pain, woe, and evil of all sorts, into concord, peace and virtue on earth, and final, everlasting purity and bliss in heaven. God himself furnishes FREE AGENCY and NATURAL GOOD and EVIL, as the primary and indispensable conditions of the process. I say indispensable, for without natural evil, temptation, trial, and consequent victory and virtue, would be as impossible as fire without heat, attraction without matter, or motion without force. Under these conditions so furnished, his creatures, by their own free acts of right or wrong, of virtue or of vice, elaborate their conflicts, antagonisms and agonisms; and with these, as the raw materials, they fill the hopper. But God alone tends the mill—and most admirably well, too, whether we can see it or not.

It would seem that the materials presented by them are rather rough, compared with the product required, and that the processes of their elaboration and refinement are in reality so difficult, that it would be quite inexpedient for a mortal being to assume the

charge and care of the process, though many think themselves quite competent at least to tell how it ought to be done. But fortunately, God still keeps his own counsel, and works in his own way: and if there is any other way possible, either in this world or in any other, of producing INTELLIGENT VIRTUE and its CONSEQUENT BLISS, we mortals can neither possibly know it, nor even conceive of it. When we, therefore, ask why evil exists, we might as well ask at once why virtue, or why God himself exists: for if God *is*, virtue *MUST BE*: and if virtue must be, natural evil must first be, as its indispensable condition. Thus it is that God evolves light out of darkness, good out of evil, and order out of confusion, ever making

“All discord, harmony not understood—
All partial evil, universal good.”

One chief part of this great process is, the law of HEREDITARY CIVILIZATION, a development by which—amid antagonisms, and conflicts, and agonisms, and wars of all sorts, between the serfdoms and masterdoms of races and orders—the lower order is made gradually and slowly, but surely to rise in the scale of being, and need and demand a broader and higher SPHERE OF FREEDOM and of ACTION for itself; and thus the groaning ages, like the harsh gratings at every new turn of the kaleidoscope, are made to herald, some new vision of beauty and glory, of virtue and of freedom upon the earth. This development, both of the individual and of the race, is never from within—and the spontaneous act of the subject, but always from without, and enforced by a masterdom of superiors of some sort. Thus the Jews, although the offspring of a choice man, were still ground in this mill of despotism for four hundred years in Egypt—our own ancestors some thousand years in Europe, and how long before we cannot tell—and now, the negroes of Africa and all other barbarous nations are taking their inevitable turn in the mill, and are actually rising in the scale of being, and therefore, demanding for themselves a broader sphere of freedom, just as we and all others have done before them; and this simple fact, in despite all that is said to the contrary, on both sides, lies at the foundation of all our real troubles; and step by step it must still be tested, which of the two shall yield and stop, and which prevail—the eternal Providence of Almighty God, or the pride and selfishness and puny arrogance of man. SOMEBODY MUST GO INTO THE HOPPER HERE, that is all there is about it; a new grist is needed, AND IT

WILL BE HAD. There has nothing happened—in principle—to the negro, that has not happened to us and to all other civilized races : and if they could have been civilized in any other way, we at least certainly do not know it. True, the externals and forms of the black man's servitude are somewhat peculiar, and to our minds peculiarly offensive. But that will only give the needful peculiarity to the result designed, as we shall show.

Any one who will reflect how the various and peculiar hereditary developments have been secured in our domestic animals, in the house-dog, the setter, the blood-hound, the pointer, &c., &c. : and in the horse, the ox, and all others, will find the key-note to this great harmony of growth that spreads over all animal being, but is peculiarly manifest in man. And the main thing that I wish here to be particularly noted is, that no possible amount of training, or culture, or discipline, could secure the result in a single individual or generation alone, either in the case of men or of animals, but only a process continued through generations, and the result in one individual transmitted by some law of hereditary development unknown to us, to his offspring, in him again to be augmented by the same discipline and culture, and handed farther down, till at last the habit thus acquired and transmitted, becomes almost or quite a native instinct of the species, wrought as it were, by the severity and continuity of their discipline, into their very bones, as an integral part of themselves. This is a long, tedious, and seemingly hard way, but it is the only way that either men or animals were ever really civilized or domesticated.

It is said that men are free agents, and should be taught to do what is right at once, without all this trouble. So is the wolf perfectly free, and if he would but turn watch dog or shepherd dog for us at once, it would be very handy indeed : but it so happens that he will not.

That this process, like all other processes, has been attended with a vast amount of needless, wicked and inexcusable cruelty and tyranny, on the part of the superior orders, there is no doubt : and this fact has engendered in some minds the absurd idea that the bare holding of all arbitrary, absolute and irresponsible power, is in itself, wrong. But if so, the whole Providence of God is wrong ; yea, even God himself, more wrong than all, for he not only holds more such power than all others, but he has, in fact, placed every

son of Adam, as an individual, under the absolute and irresistible control of his fellow men as a whole ; for how can one alone resist the human race ; they are in fact, at all times his absolute and irresponsible masters by ordinance of God. And if Christ should come again to reign in person, would the fact of his absolute and irresistible power be wrong ? and why not ? Simply because he would use that power to give to every being a SPHERE OF ACTION and ENJOYMENT suited to his capacity and his nature—that is REAL FREEDOM ; and the more power any man, or number of men on earth have, who will use it for this end, the better for all concerned. It is not, therefore, the holding of any amount of power whatever over our fellows, that constitutes the wrong, but the abuse of that power as held and used. I admit that as human beings are, it is not expedient to entrust them with any more power in any case, than is requisite to attain the end in view ; but how much that shall be can be determined by no fixed rules, as respects either its degree or its form, but must be decided solely on the ground of mere expediency in view of the almost incomprehensible perplexities of each particular case ; and right here Divine Providence gets no inconsiderable part of the grist of the great mill of the eternities, out of the very perplexity, and doubt, and struggle, and conflict, which we mortals fall into, over this very point :

“Great God how infinite art Thou,
What worthless worms are we ;
Let the whole race of creatures bow
And pay their praise to Thee.”

But since every human being is, in fact—by the eternal ordinance of God himself—born under this perfectly absolute and resistless power of his fellows, or of the millions of men in some shape ; the only question is, how this irresponsible power can be best organized and administered to meet its infinite variety of uses and duties, to the manifold orders and conditions of beings beneath it. Thus, to organize, restrain and direct this resistless power, is the end of all forms of law and government. To leave it to fall unbroken, undirected, unforeseen, and unrestrained on the head of each defenceless individual, is ANARCHY—the most terrible and hopeless of all possible human conditions from which humanity has ever shrunk with a shudder ; instinctively perceiving that any law whatever, for this terrible, moral and social gravity—so to speak—is better than no law. We read much learned twaddle in law

books about a man's giving up the rights of a state of nature, in the act of submitting to civil law ; but the plain fact is, a man in a state of nature, such as is supposed, that is without law, can have no possible rights whatever, no more than he can have a possible safety while setting astride of a volcano. Society and law come in to invest him with all possible rights, and strip him of nothing but bare useless chimeras and abstractions. Proclaim any man an utter outlaw on the face of the earth, and you throw him at once into this blissful state of nature, or of lawless anarchy ; a condition, to escape which, most men would swear allegiance to Satan himself, if no other protection was proffered.

This society and law are always morally wrong, when they do not adopt the best method possible in each case, and need reformation, but not annihilation ; and they are morally right, and should be suffered to rest in quiet only when they do adopt such methods, however various in different cases they may be. And the terrible practical anarchy and outlawry under which—so far as the state is concerned—the black man of the South is placed, is an infinitely worse feature in his lot, than even the despotism of his master ; and toward this point sensible men should direct their first if not their sole complaint. And it under the present “reign of terror” and ascendancy of the nurtured habit of anarchy and mob law, the white planters, and masters, and property holders, and respectable and responsible citizens of all sorts, and their wives and children in the south, do not find in this spirit of anarchy, more than they bargained for, all history will be falsified and belied. It is ever easy to unchain this tiger, to unloose this fearful force, but it is not quite so easy to chain, and restrain it again, at will. This resistless power over all born men is, of necessity, organized into forces more or less absolute or democratic ; and all forms of human government whatever, are but the exercise of a certain delegated or conceded portion of this universal and resistless power of the race, in whom alone, lies the only absolute sovereignty on earth, and the fountain of all other sovereignty—the gasconade of South Carolina demagogues to the contrary notwithstanding. In the family, the school, the prison, the retreats for the insane and the unfortunate, in the army and navy, and on shipboard, it usually is, within certain limits, either of necessity, or most naturally, wholly PERSONAL and ABSOLUTE in its form of administration, but not therefore un-

just. But in the field, the shop, and the state, it admits of a multitude of forms, more or less absolute or democratic, according to the nature of the case, and the civilization, wants, tastes and habits of the governed. Among the most civilized Northern races, every state must, for the present, have a DOUBLE ADMINISTRATION—the one for the field and the shop democratic, the other for the army and navy despotic ; but neither should be unjust or inhuman. Our own peculiarity consists solely in the simple fact, that we have to deal with two extreme races, on two extremes of civilization, and requiring therefore, the same double administration, on the same ground, namely : that of the shop and the field—the one democratic for the white race, the other absolute for the black race. That this fact should necessarily render the administration more complex and difficult, and liable to excite opposition and offence, is self-evident ; but it need not therefore be unjust. Suppose that we had one division of the army consisting of old veterans, whose ancestors had been disciplined to war from time immemorial, and that their hereditary discipline and valor had become so complete, war was such a second nature to them, that they could be trusted to plan and conduct every campaign by democratic vote, and best inspired to duty and heroism by allowing them so to do. But another division, right alongside, of raw recruits, ignorant, inefficient and undisciplined, which we were obliged to command, as now, by absolute authority and power, without ever consulting or advising with them ; are not three things self-evident ? *first*, that the difficulties of the absolute rule would be greatly increased by the existence and contrast of the two forces, on the same field and theater of life ; and, *second*, that the latter would not be a whit more unjust than it now is, while existing apart by itself ; and, *third*, that the only possible way of harmonizing these diverse administrations, would be by INSPIRING THE ONE WITH THE HOPE of sometime attaining the capacity and the freedom of the other. It seems to me self-evident that a law, more resistless than the law of gravity, necessitates each of these conditions ; and that the man who should expect anything else, if not a natural idiot, he is so near to it as to be utterly unfit to have anything to do with the government of mankind ; and yet is not this exactly our anomalous condition as regards our administration of law over the departments of the shop and the field ? and over the two extreme races we find there ?

Right here then, in the simple fact, that we are compelled to extend our double administration over this unusual ground, in one and the same department, which other nations are not, namely: that of the shop and the field, lies our whole danger and our chief duty. And it is vain to say that the United States government has nothing to do with it. We might far more truly say that they have nothing to do with our two great ranges of mountains, that form the double back-bone of our peculiar continent, and that we will ignore the existence of one or both of them, because state sovereignties cover them, or because old England does not happen to have the same nor recognize them in her laws. But she has the same thing, in fact, in her colonies, in Asia and elsewhere, and recognizes it too, WITH A VENGEANCE, in her own way, namely: by taxation, even beyond the point of actual starvation, and then, by a blowing away of the wretched victims, who dared assert their natural rights, at the cannon's mouth. But this was all genuine, Anglo-Saxon *magna charta* freedom!!!

But I have thus far, in this generalization, purposely omitted all allusion to Christ's Church, because it lies wholly outside both of the sphere and the form of all possible modes of earthly power whatever, and is, in its essential nature, means, ends and aims, as totally unlike all possible human governments, as its great master and founder was unlike all mere human beings. It is, in no proper sense, a GOVERNMENT, but merely an ADMINISTRATION. All governments are based on POWER vested in AUTHORITY, and appealing as a last resort to FORCE, or pains and penalties of some sort. But Christ's Church is based on LOVE, DIVINE LOVE, vested in the co-equal fraternity of the whole brotherhood, high and low, rich and poor, learned and unlearned, and administered by each and all of these alike, according to his several ability. The sole end of the one is JUSTICE ENFORCED; that of the other, MERCY AND LOVE DISPENSED—truly a "kingdom not of this world," and having no possible resemblance to any earthly power whatever—a thing not to be voted up, nor voted down, nor ruled up, nor ruled down—from the very elements in its nature, as far above all human control or change, as are the fixed stars themselves. It can have nothing whatever to do with superior power or force in any shape; and the moment superiority, power, force, or privileged orders, classes, or persons, are invoked to its aid, the whole thing apostatizes from

a church into a mere usurping sectarianism or beasthood. The true church is therefore more than a democracy: it is an equal brotherhood; it is more than freedom whose sole end is justice: it is suffering, forgiving love, whose end is mercy. Such, so divine in spirit, so unique in end, means and aim, was Christ's Church, as evidently instituted by his own most express commands: in its own nature admitting of no possibility of change, without an utter and entire revolution. And if Paul or Peter changed this order, under any pretexts whatever, they did not, most clearly, administer it; they simply revolutionized it. For it would, in fact, be far less of a revolution to institute an absolute despotism on the constitution of the United States, than to attempt to erect authorities, and powers, and privileged orders, of any sort, in Christ's original Church; for the one would imply only a change of the form of the same power—the power of man; but the other implies the utter overthrow and annihilation of the very element on which this Church was grounded; the one but changes an earthly thing; the other annihilates a heavenly one, or transforms it into a tyranny and a beasthood. I do not believe that either Peter or Paul did this; but if they did, they deserve the execration of the human race; for no amount of mere good advice, or fine talk, even from an angel, could atone for the atrocity of overthrowing or perverting such an institution among the children of men. For the most perfectly devilish forms of government that the world has ever seen have grown out of this simple perversion—all in the sacred name of the Church, and of the Prince of Peace and the loving Saviour of men; and it is the highest duty of our common humanity to resist and repel, at all hazards, the first initial steps toward such a hideous monstrosity.

Thus we see that the State, the world's kingdom, in all its possible forms, is the organized force of human power; the Church, Christ's kingdom, is the spontaneous call of divine love. The one drives to JUSTICE; the other calls to MERCY. The one in its own nature is based on coercion of obedience by superior power; the other wholly abjures it. To interchange these elements in any degree is as impossible as to work a volcano on the hand without force, or to inspire one, while in full blast, on the other hand, with divine love. The most we can hope from such a Church is that it may become powerless—a mere death's head, to frighten only the

most weak and timid. But from a State without force, coercion, we could not hope even that. But though so totally unlike in their means and methods, they should be harmonious in their end—like two good shepherds over the same flock, one of which only calls, the other of which only drives; and surely the man who expects to call with force, or to drive without it, is simply a natural fool. Let us learn, then, to “render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar’s, and unto God the things which are God’s.”

From these considerations, we see the unutterable necessity of leaving all men perfectly free in all their spiritual relations, while we hold them properly subject in all their secular and civil duties.

These general remarks on the nature of freedom and slavery, and of government in general, seemed necessary, in order to enable the reader to apprehend clearly what we mean by these terms, as well as to vindicate the dealings of Providence with these races in all ages; for if freedom and justice really implied all that some seem to think they do, there could be no denying the fact that God, as the Sovereign Ruler of all, has been the greatest of all political sinners; for he has ever placed the vast majority of men where it was simply impossible that they should receive either freedom or justice, in any such arbitrary and democratic sense. But it will now be seen that this is not so, and that God has ever given the highest possible freedom to all ages alike. Doubtless the reader will still find these terms hereafter used in a somewhat loose and sliding, though I hope not unintelligible sense.

CHAPTER III.

With these principles in view, we are now perhaps prepared to compare, (or rather to contrast) for a moment, these two extreme races of men—the white and the black: the Polar and the Equatorial race; not in the temporary accidents of their transient condition during the mere formative periods of their history, but in those great ESSENTIALS of CHARACTER, impressed by the same hand of that God who made the soils, climates, the suns, frosts and snows of their native vales and homes—not regarding those traits which some have chanced to assume, but only those which universal human nature must assume, whenever and wherever, through thousands of years, subjected to those causes which have made them what they are, and would, in time, make any other race just like them, in all the substantial and enduring elements of color, form and character. For example, I consider the peculiar bony structure of each race, except that of the skull itself, as probably only a mere accident of occupation or mode of life, while the shape of the skull and the peculiar color of the skin seem to be an inevitable and enduring impress of natural causes. Of course I shall only note some of the stronger contrasts or differences of these races which most clearly mark God's plan of variety in man, as in all else; and I wish two things to be constantly borne in mind, namely: that I am describing only in the most general terms, without regard to the many either seeming or real exceptions, and looking only at *natural tendencies*, without any regard to the immense influence which christianity or formal education has had, or is destined to have, over either race. Bearing these things in mind, then, let us look at them as climate and nature has made each; and in this survey, we may dismiss from our minds all other tribes and races, and look at our own Anglo-Saxon race as the extreme and almost finished type of what we have called the Polar

man, and the pure negro as the proper type of the Southern or Equatorial man. The one, as I have said, an almost finished specimen; the other but just begun, as it were, and still almost wholly in the rough—a diamond yet in the charcoal—or still in the crucible of the great architect; the final beauty and splendor of the which has scarcely yet begun to crystallize into form. And in overlooking this great fact lies the great mistake of Guyot's most able work on Earth and Man—which, but once admitted, restores at once the needful harmony in all the Creator's works, and leaves no ground for that mournful and incredible lamentation which he utters over their discord, disruption and incongruity, as he compares the floral, mineral and animal with the human products of the equator and the poles. He, in common with many others, has not duly considered that minerals, vegetables and animals are FINISHED PRODUCTS; with them the work is done, and their highest glory is of course near the equator, under the pathway of the sun. But man is still the only unfinished product of the earth: and when he, too, is finished, his glory will lie around the same pathway of glory—beneath the full effulgence of the sun; and thus the entire harmony of nature will be restored or completed.

It is, indeed, a theory with some that the earth itself was at first a mere molten mass, and began to cool down, and to produce, of course, its minerals, vegetables and animals, in the Northern latitudes first, advancing alike both in the variety and perfection of its products, as the cooling process advanced toward the equator. If this be so, the harmony is still more complete, for then human nature, civilization and true manhood are only passing now through the same stages and latitudes of perfection and growth, and by precisely analogous laws, as all mineral and vegetable and animal nature has done before it; itself, like them, in turn to find its final climax of glory under the equator. And if such unexpected and surprising analogies and coincidences prove nothing, they certainly do not disprove our position; for God is the God of unity of law, as well as of variety of result.

But pardoning this digression, the reader will remark, that in general terms, the one of these races is inevitably black or dark, the other ruddy or white. The head of the one is developed boldly and widely forward, in the region of the intellect; that of the other piles and slopes backward, in the region of the sentiments and pro-

pensities ; and as the white man cannot laugh, so the black man cannot frown ; the white man "tee-shees," and "giggles," and smirks, and smiles ; giving a laugh of the head indeed : but the genuine outbursting, uproarious laugh of the heart, he cannot well give. The black man may look cross, it is true, but that dark and awful frown of the white man, that strikes through the soul like a bolt from a thunder-storm, he cannot command ; and if he should ever try, the white man might well, for once, if never before, burst out into a real hearty laugh. The one is thin faced, thin lipped, lean, spare and active : the other is thick faced, thick lipped, naturally inclined to be corpulent, heavy, slow and inactive. The whole man, in form, feature, gait and motion, in the one case, bespeaks intellectual and physical energy, pride and power. In the other it bespeaks the love of luxurious indolence, ease, quiet, grace and repose. Intellect and action seem to be the controlling element and the final end of the one ; sentiment, loyalty and repose of the other. Even the very vices of the one, are the antipodes of those of the other, springing as they do from these opposite qualities in their nature. For while both alike love money, power and ease—the one loves money for the sake of power—while the other loves both power and money for the sake of ease ; both alike will sometimes get drunk ; but the one when drunk, swears, and curses, and fights, and kills from the excessive madness of the brain ; the other bows, and smiles, and sleeps, from a sweet delirium of the heart. But before pursuing this contrast further, it may be proper to advert more particularly to the real causes of this great and almost surprising dissimilarity, not only in body, but in soul, in real character.

Man is a being of THOUGHT, of FEELING, and of ACTION. In other words, he has capacities of INTELLECTION, of EMOTION, and of WILL.

In popular language, the head is considered the seat and symbol of the intellectual powers ; and the heart of the emotive powers ; comprising the moral, social and affectional powers. In different races and individuals, the different degrees of development and consequent diverse combinations of these several classes of powers, make what is called difference of MARK or character. In intellectual races and individuals, the former preponderate, and all action and effort seems to spring from the head or the intellect, and to be guided and controlled thereby. In the impulsive and emotive races, on the contrary, the emotive faculties seem to preponderate,

and the heart seems to give origin, and form, and guidance to all action and all effort. I remark on the difference of these races then, first, that everything in the higher latitudes of the earth tends towards the preponderance of intellect, self-reliance and energy, in the mind of man, while all under the Equator tends, with equal force, to develop the sentiments and the emotive powers, and to invite to social ease and repose. In other words, the sunny South is God's great school for the heart; the frozen North for the head; the constant tendency is to make the Northern man all head, the Southern man all heart; and all their institutions and creations without them, must conform to that which the hand of God has thus implanted within them. If it be asked here which of these will be superior, I answer neither; for those uses for which God made each, both alike will be superior, and for all other uses equally inferior. Just as the different sexes of our own race are either superior or inferior, according to the work you give them to do. If you wish hands to solve problems, maul rails, sail ships, or fight battles, doubtless, the men are superior; but if you desire hands to rear and educate embryo angels, to diffuse everlasting peace over all the earth, and bear all things upward toward heaven, even the sourest and most churlish of us all would be compelled to hesitate, at least, before we should decide in our own favor. But we Anglo-Saxons have to make a special effort to conceive that either God or man has any need of hearts, or anything but bare brains on the earth, and wonder why we were ever incumbered with even any approximation to such a superfluity. According to our estimate of things, this subordination of the head to the heart does therefore make the black race inferior, just as it makes our own wives and daughters inferior to our own most magnificent selves. But in any true estimate this is not so; and even the scriptures assume the exactly opposite position, and everywhere place the heart wholly and supremely above all possible attainments and aspirations of the mere head. How all this has happened to us, and the reverse to the black man, is quite plain. For God's great mission work to the Northern man is, to ANALYZE and CONQUER; to the Southern man to perceive, to enjoy and to ADORE; the great final end of the one is CONSECRATION; that of the other, DEVOTION. Intellect and mechanism are the instrumentalities of the one, sentiment and devotion at once the end and the means of the other; the one works

with the head and for the head; the other, with the heart and for the heart. God's revealed providential word to the Northern man is, "CONQUER OR DIE." Hence, he must conquer the forest, the quarry, the mountain and the slough; the river, the ocean, the wind and the storm; he must conquer heat and conquer cold; conquer darkness and conquer light; conquer steam and conquer thunder; conquer height and conquer depth; and conquer even space and time themselves. He must everywhere conquer in the abstract, and conquer in the concrete, or die; and last and hardest of all, he must conquer himself. Nor can he ever stop in this magnificent career of conquests; for the moment he pauses, adverse influences or hostile races will be sure to set in to devour and destroy him. It is ever on, *on, on*; conquer, *conquer, conquer*; triumph, TRIUMPH—one everlasting ovation from knowledge to knowledge, from skill to skill, from height to height, and from power to power, till Heaven itself is climbed. This is the work, the destiny and the glory of the intellectual man of the North. But one equal to it can be conceived, and that belongs to the Equatorial man of the South. With such a mission on hand, ever firing his very bones, is it any wonder that the millions of the North have so often, just by way of pastime, stepped down and done a few extra jobs at their trade—not in the programme—and a little too far South. All mighty floods sometimes overleap their proper barriers. So with this terrific instinct of the North, that ever hangs about the poles and mountain heights of our earth, like some vast avalanche or deluge, still suspended, but never stayed.

In all this career of conquests, intellect is the sole moving force, and mechanism the grappling power. Hence, the Northern man first analyzes all things, next reduces them to an abstraction, and lastly, converts them into a machine. He must see, and feel, and love, and hate everything in the abstract, and use everything as a machine; for he abhors, equally, the unmanageable and the concrete; hence, he will weep over an abstract beggar in a romance, and, perhaps, turn a concrete one from his doors. His sciences must take nature all to pieces, and show her abstract bones, and muscles, and sinews, all boxed up mechanically by themselves, before he will condescend to look at her at all. His governments, laws and institutions, must first be all reduced to abstractions, and done up in democratic wheels, and cogs, and pulleys, so nicely ad-

justed, that HE can crawl through and re-adjust every one of them to his liking, while they are sure to catch, if not to crush everybody else. Under his "*magna charta*," your rights are doubtless all secure, if HE does not choose to molest them. Under his "*habeas corpus*," you can always have your own body, when you can get it: *Provided, always*, that you don't press your rights to it too far, and leave some one else to find it hanging on a tree. His "trial by jury," no doubt, works most admirably well, when twelve villains, packed by the sheriff, conspire with the scoundrel on the bench to screen fellow villains, or to rob and plunder you for doing simply your duty to God and to man. You might as well think to catch a gopher in a noose made of his own tail, as to think to catch these Northern Anglo-Saxons in their own abstractions. They set all those traps of course for other people, not for themselves; and they will be sure to spring them when, and only when, other people's feet are in them, and their own out. When this Northern man says that the king can do no wrong, he only means that he will cut his head off when he does not work to suit him. If he declares the inalienable rights of man, he only means his own right to catch and enslave negroes. His Bible is a most superb book, no doubt—the only rule of faith and practice. But you had better not apply it to him, or his party, or creed, or church, or sect; if you do, he will rain down on you a flood of commentaries and dictionaries, that will cover you, Bible and all, more than fifteen cubits deep; and it will be in vain for you to send out either crows or doves in search for its loftiest truths, after such a deluge of dogmas. Catch a weasel asleep, and then you may catch these Northern races in their own abstractions. They will have no religion, even, that they cannot distill into dogmas, cooper up into sects, or run through a cotton mill, or ride upon a railroad. No God—unless they can first make him—"without body or parts," as their old creeds had it, "or passion, or emotion;" and even this bare abstraction of a deity is not entirely satisfactory, until the last possible shred of consciousness or of personality has been whittled away with the transcendental jack-knife, and some unknown and inconceivable ESSENCE distilled out of the whittlings, which works everywhere, does everything, but exist nowhere, and is nothing; then at last he gets a divinity that exactly suits him, as entirely out of his way as his own creed, and Bible and democratic constitutions and laws; a first rate

foundation for the better security of states, churches, and railroad stocks, and mortgages; and if he knew at what court to apply, he would doubtless patent it on speculation.

We hear much of a skeptical age, an infidel age, and all that; but in truth there never was any such age, and there never will be one. The eight hundred millions of earth are more believing at this moment than they ever were before, and will grow more and more so, simply because God lives, and still reigns over all. But there is a skeptical Northern Anglo-Saxon race, whose peculiar work, which he has given them, ever tempts and drives them in this direction, for which weakness he doubtless makes all due allowance, and certainly exercises all due patience and mercy. This race, it is true, cannot believe that they have got a stomach, much less a soul, till they have first whittled it to pieces with their jack-knives, macerated it in their crucibles, and demonstrated it, as they call it; and even if it should come out proved, they can still doubt whether either matter or spirit exists in any form, save always in the abstract. But other races are not so. And I allude to this only to show how this all-devouring, all-conquering Northern race first analyzes and sublimates everything—every agent—even God himself—into a mere abstraction, and then transforms it into a mere machine of use, or of power. They will generally obey a just abstract law, of their own making; but they would probably shoot or hang an equally just concrete man, who should try to enforce the same obedience: for they must be governed by the peculiar abstract machinery which their own brains have concocted, and their own hands have made, or they cannot be governed at all—at least not without constant uproar, anarchy, rebellion and alarm. In a word, they are, from the very necessities of their climate and their position, metaphysicians, critics, philosophers, abstractionists, machinists, egotists and democrats to the backbone—who conquer everything, and patiently submit to nothing, not even to God himself: a race whose sciences are all quadrations and triangles—whose logic and rhetorics are all syllogisms—whose philosophy is all abstractions—whose productions are all machines—whose societies are all “ANTIES”—whose creed is all dogmas, bristling all over, like a porcupine’s back, with sharp, defiant proof-texts and demonstrations—and whose missiles are all bomb-shells, that everywhere kill as they fly, and kill still worse when they

stop. Why such a race should have been shut out of Asia, and out of Africa, through the earlier ages, till Christianity had gained power upon the earth, and most of all over this peculiar race, I trust is perfectly apparent, if God intended ever to keep alive more than one race upon the face of the earth. This all-embracing and all-conquering intelligence is the true glory of the North, and the excesses and abuses of it to which I have adverted are only its transient and incidental evils, during its earlier and formative periods. But when this Northern race have explored nature, adjusted their sciences, faiths, empires, machines and arts, so that they begin to feel somewhat at rest in their new home—when, pausing from conquests, they once begin in earnest their final work of consecrating their vast and untold energies, powers and resources to the good of man and the glory of God, what tongue can tell of the good and the glory that shall then, from their hands, roll round the earth? I say consecrate; for their religion will always be a religion of consecration, and not of devotion, like the Equatorial man. They will consecrate all things without, but never devote themselves to God. For God made them to conquer and to use, not to worship and adore, for his glory—or rather this consecration of their resources—*is* their natural and proper worship. Some complain of this. But we might as well complain because the strong and sturdy oak, that throws out its giant arms, and bares its breast, and scatters far and wide its shining leaves, will not, like the pliant willow, bow its head to the storm. The one honors God with its massive strength, the other with its yielding beauty and its pliant grace. We may harangue this intellectual, mechanical North till dooms-day, but they will still go on to fulfill their God-given mission—to conquer and consecrate much, to pray and praise only sparingly. Exotic habits may for a time seem to thrive, but they will soon die out; for God will have his own work done in his own way at last, after all our theorizing, and dogmatizing, and haranguing.

I am not unaware of the many seeming and even real exceptions to these general remarks; and still, as general remarks, and for the purpose for which they are here intended, I deem them none the less true. For example, Russia is despotic in the extreme North; but Russia is a new-born empire, of strongly Asiatic origin and habit, and has, it is true, like all other democracies, begun under a

despotism: but I have never read of any other nation that, in the same length of time, has made so rapid strides toward democratic freedom as Russia has done in the last few centuries, in spite of its vast numbers, its Asiatic origin and habit, and the extremely barbarous condition from which it but so recently emerged. I am fully satisfied that most of our people have no idea of the rapid progress of events in Russia; and I think the laws of climate will work themselves out there, probably more speedily than they ever have done in any country on the globe, after all. Since the writer predicted—almost without hope, it is true—four years ago, in these lectures, as then delivered, that Russia must in the end become free by the laws of nature, more serfs have been practically freed in that country than there are people in the United States.

We turn now to the natural characteristics of the black or Equatorial man, and we shall find them exactly the reverse of those of the white or Polar man. He is as fully his antipodes in character as he is in geographical location. They could no more permanently and properly dwell together, than the two zones which bred them could lie in the same latitude. It is indeed possible, in nature or in theory, that the black man might stay in the North long enough to be transformed into a genuine Polar man; but that would take probably thousands of years, and it is not possible, therefore, in history and in fact; or, if so, he would then of course cease to be an Equatorial man, and the richest portion of the globe would be created for nothing, and remain forever a pestilential waste.

As God has made him, he cannot be a bare intelligence—a mere thing of the head—but a creature of sentiment, a being of the heart; not evolving abstractions, democracies and mechanisms, but sympathies, affections, loyalties and devotions. Indeed, if, according to the popular notion, sentiment and devotion come out of the heart alone, independently of the head, it would be of but little consequence whether he had any head at all or not, except for the mere purposes of his physical economy; for he would have no further use for it, except as a mere appendage to his great magnificent equatorial heart.

A being born not to scheme and to conquer, but to perceive, to enjoy, to bless, to love and to adore—the last human product of the agonizing ages—born, baptized and nurtured in blood and in tears, the only soil of earth in which great hearts can be made to

grow—raised from the horrible depths, and placed at last on the equatorial heights of the globe, to give new fire and new fervor to its poetry, its eloquence and its faith—to fill with concrete form and inspiring life and soul, with gorgeous equatorial beauty and grace, the dry and abstract mechanisms of the North—to put living flesh on the dry bones of their philosophies and their faiths, and to shout with their huge mouths, and still huger hearts, their final song of praise: “Hallelujah! hallelujah! for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth: let all the earth rejoice therein and be glad; for great and marvelous are his ways, and his wisdom past finding out.”

Summarily, then: as the great mission of the Polar man is to analyze and to conquer, that of the Equinoctial man to enjoy and to adore; as the final end of the one is consecration, that of the other devotion; as one is a being of intellect, of the head—the other of sentiment, of the heart; as the one loves the abstract, and avoids all that is not reducible to the abstract, while the other hates all that is not in the concrete—so, of course, their forms of faith and of civil order must differ. The Northern man analyzes, and splits, and burns, and stews all nature and all art to find truth and God. He of course finds abstractions, but he does not find God, for God is not among the abstractions; but the Equatorial man at once finds God wherever he himself is. God whispers to him through the stars and through the breezes: He talks to him at noonday in the desert, and at midnight in his dreams: He finds him at home and abroad; everywhere, God is with his great UNDOUBTING HEART. He everywhere talks with him, counsels him, comforts him and blesses him. He must, of course, everywhere worship and praise him, according to the best light he has, be that little or much; for he is, by nature, a being of devotion, and not of mechanism. Said Dr. Livingston to the Royal Geographical Society of London, on his return from Africa, “I defy any one to convey to a native African an idea of a machine.” Says the excellent African missionary, Mr. Olendorp, who visited many tribes: “Among all the black nations with whom I have become acquainted—even among the utterly rude and ignorant—there is none that do not believe in God, and have not learned to give Him a name, and to regard Him alone as the Maker, and Preserver, and Benefactor, and Judge of the world. It is true they also

believe in many inferior gods or mediators between themselves and the Supreme Divinity, and hence are called 'Idolators.' Beside their more formal and public seasons of worship—their sacrifices and oblations of oxen, cows, sheep, goats, fowls, palm-oil, brandy, yams, etc.—all these negroes," says he, "pray to this Supreme Divinity at different times and in different places; especially at the rising and the setting of the sun, on eating and drinking, when they go to war and in the midst of the conflict, and whenever they are in want of either food, success, health or rain. They pray for themselves, they pray for their friends, they pray for the living, they pray for the dead." They are, in short, naturally a people of devotion, of faith and of prayer, and it only remains for christianity to teach them to pray for their enemies, and they would become the most devout people on the face of the earth.

The Equinoctial man (barbarian as we call him) even now, when he goes to war, naturally offers a new prayer—the Northern man as naturally makes a new bomb-shell; and this is the exact difference between the two. The one has faith in gunpowder, the other in God: the first may be most efficient in the war of races, but the last will conquer in the war of the eternities; for God will still live when all the gunpowder has exploded; and Jesus has said, "My kingdom is not of this world." Consistently with this view we are informed, in Good's Book of Nature, that the original Heaven of these "North-men was the gory battle field, with meat to eat and wine to drink from reeking warriors' skulls." That of the negro was and still is, his own sweet, peaceful and balmy South, where ceaseless spring and verdure abide.

The genius of the black race for poetry and eloquence, and in all matters of mere taste and art, has been most surprisingly manifested, under the greatest possible obstacles, by many instances, well known to all, of rare merit, on our own continent. The history of the whole world does not furnish an equal number of white men who have risen to an equal eminence in these arts, under equal embarrassments.

Their surprising and almost universal taste and genius for music, and their tendency to religious devotion and worship, is equally manifested, under similar discouragements, whenever they are allowed to assemble in their congregations and camp-meetings and lift up their multitudinous and united voices in songs of praise and

prayer to God. John B. Gough, the celebrated temperance orator, states that he has heard the finest musical performances on this continent and in Europe. At one time, twenty-three hundred picked singers and eight hundred instruments gave the Marsellaise and other pieces; thirty-five hundred Frenchmen, accompanied by the Emperor's band, at another time, performed the finest pieces: yet he never in his life heard anything like the singing of the Richmond church of slaves in old Virginia, as they join in the choruses of their celebrated church melodies. I have heard Southern clergymen often say that the most pious men they had ever seen were negroes, and the most vigorous and prosperous churches in the United States are now—and have been for years—churches of black men and slaves; and, probably, they are also the largest churches in the whole world. One, in Beaufort, S. C., in 1857, numbered three thousand five hundred and eleven members, of whom five hundred and sixty-five had been baptised that year. That of Richmond, Va., is said to be nearly as large, and was, for some years, the largest church in America. One of our religious editors, in commenting on this most interesting state of facts, very properly laments the fact that, in such churches, “*the bible is withheld from the people*, except through the medium of the priests’ interpretation.” I, too, greatly deplore such a fact; but I have, also, right here, several special words to say about it: and the first is, that in this respect, the black man of America is really no worse off, and in some respects not as badly off, as the white man is, for neither are allowed IN FACT to receive the bible, except through the priests’ interpretation. I have heard a great deal of gasconade about our OPEN Protestant bibles, but I have never seen one of them yet. Nor do I believe there is any single church or communion in Christendom that would tolerate any man in receiving and applying the bible to himself and others, on the simple ground of those reiterated and self-evident principles on which the bible itself declares the whole of its own authority to be based. Thank God there are good and christian men and women in all the so-called churches; but if there is a single church organization in all Christendom, black or white, which the single gospel of Matthew would not utterly annihilate, if applied to it with even any tolerable honesty and consistency, I do not know where it is. And an open bible is the last of all things that the dead Conser-

vatisms and Phariseeisms, of either the North or the South, would ever wish or should ever pray to see. An open bible would be to them what a waggish comrade was to an old negro, who was every night in the habit of praying, very loud, in his cabin, for the Lord "to send Gabriel to take him right straight up to Heaven." But one night this wag, while Tony was thus praying, rapped on the door, and said, in a very grim and doleful voice: "Here is Gabriel, come to take Tony right up to Heaven." Tony blowed out his light and jumped into bed in a trice, exclaiming, as he went: "Go and tell de Lord dat dat ar' nigger haint been seen in dese parts for a whole three weeks!" Why is it worse to compel the black man to take the bible through the interpretation of a living "John Smith," whom he does know, than to compel the white one to take it through a dead John Calvin, or John Wesley, or Westminster Assembly, whom he don't know; or through the petty sectarianisms and creed-mongers of his own day? And if this ecclesiastical master of the white man may shake hell-fire in the face of his pupil to dissipate his doubts, why may not the master of the black man shake a harmless cow-skin, that cannot touch the soul, in his face, to drive away his unbelief? I am sure that the "white cuffee" and the "black cuffee" come nearer upon the platform of a twin brotherhood here than anywhere else, except that the poor black man has not yet risen to a point of culture and civilization in which books, of any sort, can be of much use, to any race; while the servile white man has, by the goodness of God, already attained that point where the bible would be of great use to him, if he only could muster the manhood to dare to open it and read it for himself, in spite of his sect and his priest. But a wild man has no more use for a book, of any sort, than a wild horse has for a silver-mounted harness. Books are of no more real use, to multitudes even of our own people, who have them and can read them, than a treatise on fluxions would be to a Greenlander, or a parasol to a harvest hand. Some of them read only just enough to befool themselves, and others do not do even so much as that. God has never given books to any race of men until they were far advanced in their long career of hereditary civilization. He did not give, even in form, the bible to any of our ancestral races, even after its institutions and truths were thrown all around them, till they had gone through a thousand years of pounding under a

despotism of the very priests who held it; and even after all this severe discipline, they have by no means learned either to prize it, or to use it as they should. But as the people of Italy have, after all, got at the practical substance of the bible, without ever reading it, better than their priests have by reading it all the time, on the same principle the South Carolina negroes will at last get at it better than their masters, if indeed they have not done so already; and how long a discipline, of the same sort, the black race may require, I am not wise enough to determine. I pray that they may so advance and so profit, that it may properly be a short one. I am well aware that theologians often ascribe such facts as these to Providential imbecility, miscalled forbearance, or some other learned name; but I would rather have our "Old Public Functionary" at the head of the universe, than such a stupid and imbecile Divinity as these theologisms and ecclesiasticisms talk of. The Devil everywhere outwits him, or beats him at a fair game. He could not govern even South Carolina, let alone the rest of the universe. Although they say he is going to do great things sometime—at least he is full of large promises about it—but his actual performance, so far as we have seen, has been quite small, indeed. But, I take it that the real God, both of the universe and of the bible, rules the world now, and always has done, in spite of the Devil and the ecclesiastics, too; and He has never seen fit to give books to any barbarians yet—though I admit that it is fitting for us poor mortals to give them, together with all other good things, just as fast as we can, and then He will guide and control our action to exactly right results. For He understands this mighty mystery of developing, or rather creating, out of nothing, intelligence, virtue, holiness and heaven, far better than we do.

But we Anglo-Saxons are all laboring under the same mistake, in regard to the negro race, that the Egyptians of old were in regard to the Hebrews. Those old Pharaohs supposed God sent the Hebrews into Egypt to learn to make brick and build pyramids; whereas he sent them there, not to fit them to make brick, but to make Bibles; a very silly and useless sort of a thing compared with the useful brick and magnificent pyramid, doubtless these old Pharaoh's thought it. But we have got up a round or two on that ladder. Still we suppose that the black man is sent here to raise cot-

ton and sugar, to perfect our calicoes and dresses, and sweeten our juleps and teas. But God is schooling him to fill up and complete the measure of our literatures, freedoms and arts; our charities and devotions. Said the same Dr. Livingston, on the same occasion, "I have no doubt that these numerous black races are as much preserved for purposes of mercy, as were God's ancient people, the Jews." Can any intelligent men doubt it?

As respects their natural modes of civil order, then they must conform to these fundamental requisites of their character, and they can be really free under no other order. On this point there are two extreme opinions in the United States; one would transform the negro into a democrat, and spread the dead level of democracy all over the globe; the other would forever hold him as a slave, and erect its mis-called democracies over the volcano of negro slavery; if there is any truth in the views presented, both these extremes are equally absurd, for neither our present system of Southern slavery, nor democracy, furnish to the Equatorial man his own final proper sphere of action, of FREEDOM, of LOYALTY and DEVOTION, all of which, in combination, he as instinctively seeks, as the duck does its own native water; and we may set and hatch as many of these Equatorial duck eggs under our own Northern democratic hens, as we please, either here or in Liberia, or elsewhere, but we shall never hatch out one single genuine democratic chicken; as soon as left to themselves they will all take to the institutions of their own native, sunny South. And with the exception of a few miserable abortions on this continent, and our present failure in Liberia, I believe that in the whole history of the world, there has never been an attempt, even to seek after, much less to institute a Republic between the tropics. Even at the first discovery of this country, while all the Northern tribes were substantially democrats, all the tropical ones were monarchists; and the present races have already sunk, in fact, into the same order, if not in name.

God has not experimented with monarchies for five thousand years for nothing; they are just as natural and necessary to the tropics and the Equator, as democracies are to the higher latitudes. And the same conscious personal freedom that leads the white man to choose to be governor by abstract laws, written on papers and parchments by political machinery of his own fixing and working, because he is by nature an abstractionist and a machinist, will as

naturally lead the black man to choose to be governed by concrete laws, written on the heart of a just, generous and concrete man, around whose person and presence, his own native sentiments of LOYALTY and DEVOTION may find a full, free and healthful scope, both for culture and for action. Equal and stable democracies are the complex political machinery, of fertile and inventive brains; the product of the head for the purposes of individual security, and self-culture and self-development.

Just and magnificent empires are the spontaneous creations of great, devotional, loyal and magnanimous hearts, which sink and forget the egotism of self, in the glory and renown of the social whole; christian purity and truth can give freedom to either, fit both alike to man, and consecrate both alike to God. Monarchy, therefore, the earliest and the most wide-spread political blossom of earth, is not to prove a barren sterility, an utter abortion; but under christian freedom and christian inspiration to bring forth the choicest Equatorial fruits for the good of man and the glory of God. The black men of Africa are not only by nature monarchists, having a king or chief to follow and to adore, in every petty village, but it is said that four-fifths of the whole population quietly remain under their masters, as domestic slaves, even in those wilds where they could run away, or raise an insurrection any day; and outside of the influence of the American slave trade, so little injustice is done them, that a stranger cannot readily tell the slave from the master. How different, in fact, is this, from our present American system, though the same in name. Beside, the black man has not intellect enough to make a SAFE democrat. He cannot be made to comprehend how the "inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," in all men, should only define the right of the white man to catch and enslave negroes. How slavery is to be hated in the abstract, and deified in the concrete, and finally, extinguished by investing it with all concrete power, and spreading it over the whole continent. How a constitution ordained to "secure and perpetuate liberty and Union," should be used only to catch stray negroes with, or to mob, outlaw, whip, club down, tar and feather, hang and murder free white men, women and children; to ferment treason and disunion, till all liberty, all Union, and all law and government on earth, become a mockery and a by-word. How we save the Union every four years by electing

some Northern doughface, or some Southern fire-eater to swear to these self-evident truths, and politically to execute them at the capital—all this the black could not be made to understand; and should he attempt to execute it, his WEAK HEAD, and his great swelling EQUATORIAL HEART would lead him sadly astray; for to do all this, not only requires a man that has a very "BIG HEAD," but he should also be more utterly destitute of all heart than a crocodile; and this the black man is not.

But to illustrate further my point: I suppose, if it were left perfectly free to all the negroes to-day, either to remain with their masters, as they are, or to go out free, among those who have really kind masters, I doubt not, that even now, under our APPALLING CODE OF SLAVE LAWS, such is the extreme tendency of their nature to sentiment, loyalty and devotion, that multitudes would choose to remain where they are, inconceivable as all this is to us; whereas, if our laws protected them and their property, in family, life and limb, to even any decent extent, I have no doubt that under such a choice, the vast majority of them would stay where they are. But you probably could not find one single white man, on two whole continents, however debased or inured to despotism at home, that would make such a choice.

Nor does this fact show so much the degradation of the black race as is sometimes said, as it does the radical and instinctive difference of the two races; a difference so great that it is impossible for us to comprehend, much less to sympathize with the other race. And it is this conscious difference in RADICAL CHARACTER and ULTIMATE DESTINY, not a mere difference of color, that throws a great and impassible gulf between the two races. We might as reasonably expect the wolf and the house-dog to see alike and act alike, and voluntarily to choose the same kennel or lair. I do not deny that the mere color is repulsive to us, or at least distasteful—and rightfully to—for if there were a race of women on this continent with scarlet red noses, there would be lots of old maids among them, in spite of a common christianity, and the Declaration of Independence thrown in to boot. Now, if we were all made angels, and did not care for color, all this reasoning about its being a mere prejudice, might be very nice; but so long as we are but men, and do, and must care for it, it is all very shallow.

The venerable Dr. Livingston testifies, in his work, that at one time he himself became so black while on the low lands of Africa, that the natives would not believe that he had ever been a white man, till he stripped up his sleeve and showed them his protected skin. He affirms also, that in those regions, a white man appeared decidedly distasteful and repugnant to him, so far as the color was concerned. This frank confession indicates two things, both of which we should naturally expect, namely: that by ordinance of God, both healthful color, and healthful and natural taste, changes with the different climes; thus laying an immovable foundation for distinct varieties of races, colors, and tastes, instead of a dead uniformity of either. And I think all those democrats who feel that they are in danger of marrying black women ought to be allowed to prohibit themselves and their friends, by enacted law, though such a law is quite needless for most people. But this matter of mere color is not all, nor is it the chief ground of our repugnance, for we do sympathize with the Indian, and with occasional specimens of the African race, in spite of color, in whom we find the same *INDOMITABLE WILL*, as in ourselves; and it is impossible for any human being to respect, or at least to sympathize with any quality in another, which he does not find in himself. The negro cannot be taught to swear, fight and cypher equal to the Anglo-Saxon, and, therefore, HE can have no respect for him, however faithfully he may serve, worship, pray, and adore.

But to bring all to the concrete: Take as a full grown Northern man, Napoleon Bonaparte; and as a full grown Equatorial man, "Uncle Tom," for I am not acquainted with any similar real character, though Southern gentlemen of undoubted veracity, assure me that they have often seen such at the South. Now, this "Uncle Tom" had not what we call intellect enough in his head to subserve the necessities of Napoleon's little finger. But if Napoleon's heart, on the other hand, had been beaten out as fine as gold leaf, it would not all have made a sizable case for Uncle Tom's great Equatorial heart, ever full of love and of grace, and ever pouring a full tide of divine and heavenly wisdom up into his head, so that there was no need, no room for what we call mere intellect there. No more than the electric battery, that draws its full charge from the clouds, needs the gyrations of some petty human machine. It is true, logic is good, but there are powers of the human soul that transcend all the possibilities of a bare logic. Now, any man who

should assert that this Uncle Tom was a higher specimen of true manhood than Napoleon Bonaparte would perhaps be deemed insane. And yet, if Christ's teaching, and the whole of christianity from beginning to end, is not all a sheer fable, it is even so ; and Uncle Tom's character will prove not only the higher, but in the long run infinitely the stronger, and more dominant and all-controlling character of the two ; and I am not sure but the bare imaginary conception of it, is yet destined to work greater and more desirable changes on this continent, than all Napoleon's power could on the continent of Europe. For "blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit THE EARTH—not Heaven—but the EARTH, and strain, and pervert the old prophecy as you will, that "Canaan should be servant of all," the oft-repeated prophesies of Jesus, who is greater than Noah, that "he who is SERVANT OF ALL, shall, in the end, become 'GREATEST AND MASTER OF ALL,'" must needs be fulfilled. And do we not even now see, that this despised negro race are gathering around them, like a wall of eternal fire, the highest, and holiest, and strongest sympathies and sentiments of the most christian and civilized races of earth. In some aspects, mere weakness, even like that of the infant, is the strongest thing on the face of the earth ; and the careless killing of a half-dozen children about Charleston, might now, make us more trouble than the slaughter of fifty thousand armed soldiers. Mere logics, customs, conventionalisms, prejudices and passions, are very small affairs, and may either freeze or perish in a day. But these instinctive and undying sentiments of the human soul, when once aroused, are truly terrible. "Woe, woe to the rider that would trample them down."

The reason, then, in brief, why the two races cannot dwell together, is not one of mere color. It is—*first*, because God never designed that they should, as we shall soon see ; and *second*, because each race is still essentially barbarian in the only line in which the other has begun to be civilized—the one in head, and the other in heart—and thus they must remain till long after their separation will come. Hence there is no solid ground of mutual sympathy and co-operation between them. All the black man's social work here is as totally unnatural to him as the bricks without straw were to the Hebrews, and must ever remain so. For his home and his great work is not here, but between the tropics ; while the social and civil order that he craves is just as distasteful

and unsuited to us. For, made as we are, and destined to what we are, should we attempt to live with him in his sunny home, under the wisest, and best, and freest institutions he could possibly create or endure, it would be to us a practical slavery, an inevitable crippling and dwarfing of all our natural powers and energies, however kindly he might treat us. For him to do the same with us must as inevitably result in the same thing. Shame on us, then—yea, ten thousand shames on us—if we cannot treat him kindly, nor yet humanly, while Providence permits him to remain. We are barbarians in heart; he never treated us so, in his own native home.

Did space allow, it would be pertinent here to remark on the cause of that peculiar ease and grace of manners which the unprejudiced traveler perceives, as soon as he passes the lines of one of our great slave States. This is one effect—a sort of reaction of the great equatorial heart of the black man, though degraded and enslaved, even upon the heart and manners of his master. I refer not now to the haughty insolence of the slaveholder, when in anger, or when assuming superiority—which habit is a direct effect of slavery itself, and, if possible, more detestable and disgusting than the cause which produced it; but I refer to his quiet and graceful ease, so charming when he is in repose, which is an effect of his association with the black man as a comrade, and which I do admire, though we of the North strive in vain to rival, or even successfully to imitate it.

But is it asked again, which of these two races is superior? I answer, both, for the purpose and the place for which God made them, and both inferior for any other place. And here the black man is inferior, just as we should soon be in Greenland, simply because he is out of his own sphere and place. And if ever our women should change places and spheres with us, they would soon fall under the same disgust and contempt, because they would be at work in a sphere they could not fill; and if physical nature does not abhor a vacuum, still human nature abhors such a monstrosity; and whenever woman has been thus thrust out of her sphere, she has ever been held in disgust and contempt, as a mere slave, for the same reason, and ever must be.

CHAPTER IV.

We are now prepared, perhaps, with some degree of intelligence, to ask and to answer the questions, why did the black man come here? and how and where shall he go? In our former survey of the continents, we left these two races, the white at the North, and the black at the South, of the Mediterranean Sea, each having traversed the whole breadth of his own continent, from the East to the West—the one having filled the European, the other the African end of this continent with its own peculiar people and arts, till, with their modes of life, both seemed pressed for room—we left them, I say, thus standing on the Western verge of their individual homes, totally unconscious of each other's existence, and both looking, as it were, wishfully to some unknown land—some new home in the far West, in the bosom of the great, dread, mysterious and unknown Atlantic. The fortunate and timely hanging of a little bit of iron on a pivot, called the mariner's compass, by the intermediate Portuguese race, unexpectedly introduced these two races to each other, and to their new home in the West, and opened all Africa and all America to the astonished gaze of the civilized world. These two races at first shook hands, and turned their eyes Westward. There they stand, these two mighty races, nurtured apart, on the two extremes of earth, and of climate, and one of them nursed in secret for thousands of years. The white man, with his wonted agility, starts at once for his new home in the North of this new-found and new-born world. But the black man still gazes in stupid and helpless amazement upon the glorious land of the Amazon, already opening wide its ocean mouth, and throwing far abroad over a whole continent its mighty arms, to receive and embrace him. But the Africans have neither ships, nor money, nor arts, and they cannot cross. "God has surely made a mistake now," says the skeptic; "he has made the race in Africa,

and the lands to receive them in America, all right; but they can not cross the sea—they can never meet.” Hush! hush! “Thou shalt make even the wrath of man to praise thee, and the remainder thereof shalt thou restrain.” So it was of old, and this Scripture is not out of date yet. The white man has ships, and money, and skill, in abundance; but he is the universal Yankee of the globe, and was never known to work for either God or man for nothing; and if he brings them over he must have pay—cash down. Well, he brought them, and he has taken terrible pay; and now he ought to be satisfied, and love mercy, and do justice.

It is interesting here to note that about this time the most Christian and civilized nations of Europe, as if impelled by the frenzy of some malicious demon, all united in capturing and plundering the black man, and bringing him across the Atlantic, and colonizing him in the United States, and in Brazil, and on the islands, on all sides of his new Amazonian home, until almost three millions were found in each country. Then the same nations, as if inspired of God, without changing a single cardinal truth of either their polity or faith, all as one, set to to denounce and punish their own practices as a felony and a piracy. So far did this proceed, that at one time the best of men could see no wrong in the traffic, and at the other the worst could find no apology for it. There is no accounting for the action and logic of men on this subject. Even we ourselves still call trafficking in negroes piracy on the water, and democracy on the land. I say there is no accounting for these and similar facts, except that God wanted about twelve millions over here on either side of this equatorial home of the black man in Brazil; and now they are here, no more are wanted from Africa, while it is still needful to push those of the North down South, which the overland slave trade is constantly doing, and is therefore permitted; and if this divine reason does not lay at the bottom of those most unaccountable discordances and inconsistencies of all faith, all logic, all charity and all law combined, surely no human reason does.

Again: Till about the same time, all these United States alike held slaves, and all alike, the North as well as the South, tolerated slavery. The best of men in the North saw no particular harm in it, and all sustained and *strengthened*, not simply tolerated, each other in the practice. Slaves were then thought as proper and useful at the North as at the South. But all of a sudden this

scene, too, changes; and every influence of God, of Nature, of men, and of devils, seemed to conspire to crowd the three millions of slaves in the United States down South, toward their final home; while similar co-operating causes have operated in South America to push them up North toward the same spot. Some Northern States emancipated and sold South. Several States still raise slaves and sell South. The Southern State filibuster, fight, negotiate and secede, to gain territory—Texas, Mexico, Cuba, Central America—in order to push slaves still further South. Northern men—Democrats, Republicans and Christians—compromise, enact ordinances and platforms, pray, emigrate by thousands, and even fight, to keep slavery from spreading toward the North. But, strange again, as it logically seems, they will resist to the death the addition of a single slave State toward the North, while they will quietly acquiesce in the addition of a dozen on the South—only barely making just fuss enough about it to make themselves believe there is some consistency in their action: just as boys whistle in the dark, to keep their own courage up. But God works by still more effective means; for he smites every Northern soil with barrenness and with curses, on which the slave is permitted too long to linger, and thus drives them South by the accumulating deluge of desolation in their rear, as he drove the Israelites out of Egypt by closing in the Red Sea behind them. True, all this will not be done in an hour, nor in a single generation. God has never purposed nor promised that he would complete this great equatorial work of the globe—the final crowning work of all lands, races and ages—and usher in the final song of earth's jubilee that is to encircle the globe, in a single generation. And, fret as we may, he will take his own time for it; oppose or help as we may, he will at last do his own work in his own way, and do it so, too, that all shall pronounce it “good,” “very good.”

Now, if these and all accordant facts do not show the finger of God in this whole matter, from Ham's day down to our own, and intimate the final destiny of the black man and our highest duty toward him, I do not know what could show it. In my view it takes no more of a prophet or of a wise man to see that the black man will go to the valley of the Amazon, whether we will or no, than it does to see that the white man will remain in the United States, or that the Amazon will run into the sea.

Brazil is, at this very hour, substantially a black empire. There were, in 1850, in the country, about one million of weak and degenerate Portuguese and mixed Portuguese. These, at present, hold the supremacy of power, while the supremacy of numbers — of population — is hopelessly against them. Pitted against them, in the contest for power, there are already more than a million of strong, robust, warlike, free blacks, Indians and half-breeds; while in the contest for the supremacy of numbers, there must be added to these more than three million of slaves, daily increasing with astonishing rapidity,^g both by birth and by emigration. The reigning house is equally illustrious for its prestige, its sagacity and its comprehensive philanthropy and humanity. The world could not furnish a better sovereign for those mixed races, if they desired one; and, fortunately, they have no disposition to desire it. The practical administration, in several respects, is more free and more perfect than our own; and, for that place and people, better than any known civilized government on earth. Hence the astonishing development and progress of the country in the past few years. It is, at all points, as favorable to the black man as to the white, and much more congenial to his nature. Amalgamation is common, and even encouraged by law. All religion is free. The press is free: far more so than it is in the United States. Great attention is being paid to the development of a system of free schools — to foreign commerce and foreign emigration; while the African slave trade is now wholly suppressed, and the actual condition of existing slaves ameliorated as fast as it can be done. In the last half century Brazil has quietly swallowed up the little republics on her Northern border, just as we have the monarchies on our Southern border, until, without war, noise or uproar, she has come into safe and permanent possession of a territory larger than all Western Europe, fourteen times as large as France, larger than the whole United States by 68,294 square miles, and, in permanent natural resources, worth a dozen just such countries as ours; and it is steadily rising toward an empire that will, in the end, eclipse all other empires on the face of the earth in its wealth, its splendor, its numbers and its power.

Why quarrel longer over our black people, or try in vain to jilt them back to Africa, when by sending them to Brazil we could confer an inestimable blessing upon the whole world in the devel-

opment of the resources of that unique and glorious empire, and in the end increase our own safety, wealth, commerce, glory and power a thousand fold more than we can by retaining them here; and place the African in his own native, final home. We have hundreds of thousands of free blacks in the United States and in Canada that might go to-morrow, with infinite advantage to themselves and to all others, at home and abroad. I will reiterate — because it is as certain as the laws of God and of nature — that nothing can surpass the glory and the grandeur of the future history of the black race in Brazil, let who will rule them; for whoever holds the supremacy in power, they will always hold it in numbers so decided and strong, that that power must be exerted substantially for their good.

But there is the half-way house, in Hayti, to which they even now offer to pay the passage of all our free blacks who will go, give each family a farm of the richest land in the world, when they get there, and guarantee to them all civil and social privileges. Much the same is true of Central America, and even of Southern Mexico. Since these lectures were first written and delivered, now some years ago, most of these governments have offered forty acres of land gratis to all black men, of good character, who will come to them; and the Providential developments, on all hands, toward such a final result as was there predicted, and thought, at that time, by some, to be wholly chimerical, have been so rapid, wide spread and resistless, as not only to astonish the writer, but even the whole world at large. It has now become absolutely childish for us to be halting, and doubting, and bickering, and quibbling over the final and proper destiny of the black man any longer. The finger of Almighty God has not only written it on the continents and the ages, from which alone it could be deciphered when this view was first suggested to an audience of half fearing, half hoping, and therefore willing hearers, but he has now chronicled it in our surrounding policies, histories and laws, in speeches, gazettes and, above all, in our unutterable necessities. What class of men on the face of the earth can such a policy injure? Nay, what class will it not most obviously benefit? Will it harm Africa? Brazil will do more for Africa than Africa can possibly do for herself alone; just as this country has done more for Europe than a thousand Italies or Spains could have done. Will it injure the free

black, the slave or the master? I shall show, hereafter, that it is the only possible earthly hope of either. Will it injure the commerce, or the wealth, or the Union, or endanger the safety of the Republic? No man will say it. And, if not the only hope of either, it is, at least, by far the most cheering one the far distant future can present to us.

CHAPTER V.

In view of these facts, what shall we do? We may, in general, like christian freemen, by all the means God has put in our power, aid, instruct and comfort our sable brother in his pilgrimage toward the far South, and thus prepare him for his new home and final glorious destiny there. If so, our own destiny and our own glory will be unrivalled past all power of human speech to express.

On the other hand, we may abuse, crush, trample and torture him as he goes: deny him all natural rights, simply because we have the power: scourge the race and desolate the earth, and explode the volcanoes of eternal justice beneath our own feet, till our own freedom is a hopeless wreck—our own strength and wisdom a strength for suicide—an infatuation that arms the race of man and the omnipotence of God against us—till at last this once patient but now phrensied and despairing man, skilled in the arts of his tormentors, and aided and abetted by all the monarchies of the globe, shall burst forth from the kennels in which we have caged him, to reek upon our institutions, and kindred, and homes the unutterable vengeance of his own unrequited wrong—the justice of the ever-living God. For God still reigns; not away up among the stars, and the eternities and the dogmas, but down in the rice swamps and cotton and cane fields, over those sable souls, that still cry, from beneath the altar, “How long, oh, Lord, how long!” And what shall we do if we at last provoke him to execute his higher law, not in suffering mercy, but in avenging wrath. But to be more specific:

I. The slave states of the South can so readjust their state laws as to protect, both in theory and in fact, all the *natural rights* of the black man, while the master still holds his superior relation to him and all needful control over him; and the only possible way to render the slave safe, contented and happy, and useful to his

master and to the world, is for the state to interfere as he rises in the scale of intelligence, to correct, in his behalf, admitted abuses, and to protect him against the abuses of cruel and unreasonable masters. The state, in its own sovereignty, and majesty, should assume his guardianship and efficient protection against all such unreasonable abuse. And unless this is done, the civilized world will become arrayed against the whole system.

II. Individual masters can, meantime, treat their slaves with so much christian kindness and humanity, that with their proclivities toward sentiment and devotion, they would not leave them if they could, until both parties see that it is for the good of each ; and should that time ever come, then they would part in love and peace, and no wrong or violation of freedom be done to either ; for the fundamental idea of freedom includes the right of choosing to serve a just and upright man, as truly as it does the right to choose to obey a just and upright abstract law. And according to the true idea of freedom given on a preceding page, any master can, at any time, make his slave *really free*, without manumission, and without either aid or opposition from the state ; for he can place him at once in a sphere of action and enjoyment suited to his capacities and wants, if he is not there already ; and that is all the rational liberty that any living creature can either have or claim. I am aware that one party will cite the West India emancipation, and the other, St. Domingo, to refute and rebut the above suggestions, forgetting that it was the awful negligence of the state, and the appalling abuses and cruelties of the masters, that precipitated the catastrophe of slavery, in both of these cases alike ; and if any state would avoid such an end, it must turn out of the road that inevitably leads to it. The cruelties and necessary abuses that there arose, under absentee landlords, and irresponsible overseers, destroyed all natural sympathy between master and servant, forcing the slave to see and feel that their masters cared nothing, whatever for their real interests and welfare, and throwing them into that condition of combined disgust and despair, in which the weakest of mortals is capable of the most terrible desperation and revenge. May God deliver our own states from such cruel and suicidal folly and infatuation. There are but two possible causes that can ever terminate slavery in these states ; the one is the despair of the black man ; the other is the wisdom and benevolence of the white one. The one is hor-

rible even to think of, the other is the most beautiful and glorious subject the mind can contemplate. The one comes by first making the master a brute, and the slave a consequent demon; the other comes by making the master a virtual parent and guardian, and the slave a dutiful and faithful son, or ward, rising in the scale of being by the slow, but sure process of HEREDITARY CIVILIZATION, as their generations pass away, till finally prepared to leave their father's home, more in sorrow than in joy, to enter their new home, and assume the burden and cares of life for themselves. What more beautiful or blessed sight can there be upon earth, than that of millions of men passing from barbarism to civilization under such a process as this; and though their growth be slow, like that of the forest oaks, it is still the growth of nature and of God, and, therefore, resistless and sure. Southern writers and speakers boast of what they have already done for the black man in this line, and of the civilization he has already achieved, under their care, imperfect, and even cruel, as it often has been. I do not doubt, either as regards the fact or the true philosophy of the progress. And it is on this very ground that I would urge with all the vehemence of truth and its own eloquence, the IMMEDIATE, and CONSTANT, and INDISPENSABLE READJUSTMENT of their proper sphere of action and enjoyment to suit their new condition, and their new wants, both on the part of the State and the master, as the only hope of either the white or the black man in the South; for otherwise, the slave must at last, sooner or later, be driven to sunder his bondage in despair and in blood. But before that time comes, he will have been rendered totally worthless to his master; their mutual alienation and distrust will render the cost of securing and guarding his reluctant labor more than the labor itself can possibly be worth, aside from the hourly impending danger of the final doom; for only the very lowest forms of humanity can possibly be made to work under the stimulus of fear alone. As they rise in intelligence and practical capacity, they must be more and more allured by the incitements of hope. How heroically McDonald's slaves wrought under one form of this hope? and how bravely others are still working under other forms of it. Now, that the same laws and customs which were in their own nature fitted, or at least were thought to be needful for the slave, when he was nothing but a mere barbarian, and could be addressed by no motive but fear, should be

fitted to him, now, if he really has advanced in civilization, as is claimed for him, is, in itself, a sheer absurdity, contradicted by all possible modes of human reason, experience and observation. The South are everywhere complaining that their slaves ARE BECOMING UNEASY; and they attribute the fact to the ABOLITIONISTS OF THE NORTH. They might as well ascribe it to the ice around the North pole. No, the real cause lies much nearer home, and is much more creditable to the individual master, than all this supposes. It lies, in the fact, that in spite of the severity, and barbarism, and cruelty of the old and formal law of the state, masters have, in fact, in general, treated their slaves with so good a degree of humanity, that they have risen, in spite of many obstacles, in civilization, and in the scale of being, and consequently, have outgrown the barbarism of the law at sundry points, and feel its injustice with necessarily increasing abhorrence and disgust. Such a result is, and was, and forever will be, as inevitable as the motion of the earth on its orbit; and depends just as little on the harangues and appeals of mortal men of any sort. Exclude all men on the face of the earth from the slave states, but the slaveholders only, and this process will inevitably go on, just the same as before; and all the mere talk in the universe cannot arrest it, nor yet materially advance it, for it is based on an unvarying law of the Infinite God, and we might as well talk for or against the rolling of the spheres. It cannot be even legislated against, only in one way; and that is a system of espionage, and distrust, and force; and cruel appeal to bare fear, can be instituted, so ferocious and cruel, as to reduce the coming generations of slaves to their original condition of utter and unmitigated barbarism, and all manhood be again so thoroughly crushed out of them, by tyranny and fear, that they feel easy under the old and barbarous law, just as an ox would, because they have shrunk beneath, instead of having risen above its provisions. Men! white men, free men of the South, will you do this? We know you will not, and cannot; and, therefore, the other is the only alternative open to you. For hope, *hope*, soul-inspiring HOPE, is the great want of their present condition; and their best minds will gradually seize hold of it, however remote in the future it may lay, as the crushed man still clings to his hope of Heaven.

There is terrible reason to fear that the black man is really sinking from simple despair. Our revolutionary fathers kept up their

hope, and their consequent attachment and allegiance, by assuring them, by act and word, that their present condition is only temporary. The colonization scheme renewed and re-inspired this hope. Both were totally illusive and impracticable; for the blacks never can be emancipated here, nor carried back to Africa. So now they have no national hope—no HOPE!! Most merciful God! Are so many millions of thy toiling children to be left longer on earth, with no HOPE—no hope for themselves, or for their children? It cannot be: or, if it is allowed to be, it will create a hell upon earth before many years roll around. Say then at once to the black man, that if he is faithful to his duty, to himself and to his race, there is for him in the far future a hope, more glorious than the mind can conceive, even, in this world, and an eternal hope nearer by, in the world to come. Say not it will do him no good. Such sources of national hope inspire, and cheer, and encourage all living men, and most of all, men bordering on the verge of despair. Such a course will mend again the sundered cords of sympathy and fidelity—of attachment and devotion between master and slave—as no force, and no fear, and no unfeeling severity and cruelty can ever do—and mend them, too, beyond the power of all the abolitionists in the world to sunder them, even if they should desire to do it. Do you say that the hope of heaven supplies this want? It does not; it cannot do it. It is good, yea, above all estimate, in its place; but it sustains and cheers only the spiritual man, in his spiritual relations and duties. But every man on earth needs, also, and must have, a distinctively earthly hope, for himself or for his posterity, or he will, by its want, be transformed into a beast or a demon. Give, then, to the black man, first of all, a hope for himself and his children, on earth, however remote it may lie in the distant future, if you would still keep him a man—a GLORIOUS, EARTHLY, NATIONAL HOPE. It belongs to him; it is his due. Not a hope in the North, or the free States, or in Canada—for there is no more rational hope for the black man there than there is in Greenland or Labrador—but a new, and soul-inspiring, and glorious hope in his own sunny South, his natural Equatorial home, the land of the great river, and the boundless fertile fields, which God has made for him, has he not? For whom, then, did he make that most glorious of all lands? Was it only for the crocodile and the alligator? or was it for the white man? But he cannot possi-

bly live there. Who, then, was it for? Will he create a new race of black men? No: it is for our present black men. They are now only preparing for their new home. Let but this new hope inspire the soul of the black man, and let only moderately reasonable justice be done him, while he must remain in his school at the North, and we shall soon hear less of despairing and therefore reluctant and uneasy slaves, and consequent nervous and frightened masters. And it is equally beneath the dignity and the duty of the South to be fretting and stewing about a few Northern abolitionists, who have no access to their slaves, no more than a man in the moon, and could not materially change them if they had; while the great and solemn issues of the case are now, as ever before in the history of the world, wholly under their own eyes, and in their own hands. Does not all the world know, already, that the anxiety, and fear, and alarm of the masters is far greater in those remote States where abolitionists never go, than it is in those States where they most often go, and where their influence is most felt? True, most slaves run away from the Northern States; but that is merely owing to two causes: *first*, because, under a temporary impulse or abuse, it is easier to do so; and *second*, because they are always suspicious and fearful of being sold South sooner or later. Thus even the Northern negroes themselves, stupid as they are, have learned to see and to fear that very despotism under which some propose to crush the black men of the extreme South. But will a great and vital political fact, that has become so plain that even the Northern negroes can read it—shall it escape the notice and the needful action of Southern democrats and statesmen? We trust not. Our faith both in God and man bears us above such an appalling and despairing view, all present appearances to the contrary notwithstanding.

It is abundantly within the power of the South, any day—without in the least impairing the rightful authority of the master, or the pecuniary value of the services of the slaves, or the security of society, but greatly confirming, enhancing and securing all these together—to place the black man in a condition of practical freedom, usefulness and contentment, as great and as hopeful as any other class of men, of the same grade of civilization, ever enjoyed upon the face of the earth; and by doing this, they would at once elevate in the scale of moral being both the white and the black man, pre-

pare the latter for his final home in the far South, and command and secure to themselves the sympathy, the respect, and the lasting esteem of mankind. But if they will not do this, they must, in common with all who have gone before them, take what must and will inevitably come: a despotism or an anarchy both for themselves and their children. That is—to revert to a former simile—they must themselves GO INTO THE HOPPER; for foam, and fret, and stew, and resist, as we, any, or all of us may, God's great and eternal mill for the elevation and civilization of the races will not stop its work; and when any race, black or white, fall evidently below the required standard of work and of duty, it will take them, too, up, and grind them over, till they come again up to the mark, the standard required. And to my mind, these extreme Southern fire-eaters, as well as the opposite extremes in the North, seem to be hopping in, between the burr-stones, just as fast as they can. That they need a new grinding there can be no doubt; and could they take it alone, no reasonable man would object; but the fear is that they may draw multitudes along with them, both North and South, who are really, by themselves, deserving of a better fate.

I have, it will be observed, nowhere inquired whether the Scriptures sanction slavery or not: first, because no possible book can make anything either right or wrong, that was not so in its own nature, before either the book or the world itself was made; and secondly, because the Scriptures, if either true to fact or true to nature, as I believe they are, must sanction all those kinds and degrees of servitude that have been found, in all ages, indispensable to the civilization of mankind; and they must as clearly repel and condemn all forms and modes of servitude which tend only to the perpetuation and the production of barbarism. But as our American slavery includes both—namely, a system of law, under the State, that tends only to barbarism, and a system of practical administration, under a vast many, if not under the majority of masters, which, in spite of the law, tends to civilization—the Scriptures, if true to God and man, must boldly condemn the one, and as boldly tolerate the other; and so they do; and it is easy for a sophist to cite passages and examples, on either side, of the ambiguous and unanalyzed word SLAVERY, all day long, which most clearly either approve or condemn it, just as the ecclesiastical magician chooses. But a rational man would as soon ask whether the

Bible approves of "killing" as of "slavery;" for in each case it depends wholly on the kind of killing, and the kind of slavery; for God does not fight mere words and wind, however odious they may become; and all this noise and tumult about the relations of the Bible to slavery must ever remain, like most other ecclesiastical disputes, a mere war of words and of wind, till the complex word "slavery" is analyzed into its distinct parts. Then it will be found that God has, in all ages, approved of some things included in the general and complex term slavery, and disapproved of others; for God is neither deceived nor governed by mere big words, as men are.

Mexico and several of the Central American states, it is said, have recently offered forty acres of land, gratis, to all emigrants, without distinction of color. The whole vast country of Brazil, the black man's natural home, is, as we have seen, even more open, as well as more congenial to him than to the white man; and it is within the power of the Union, and of the states, to make immediate provisions for the ample colonization of our free blacks and emancipated slaves, into these regions, at far less cost than in Africa, and infinitely more to the present and ultimate advantage of the black man and his race. For South America would thus be made to Africa what North America is now to Europe; just what it would seem that God ultimately designed that it should be. But that all this must take place only by slow degrees, and be fully realized only after we, and perhaps many other generations are dead, is no more objection to the policy than the same obstacles were to the policy of colonizing this Northern continent when it was first discovered. And considering the rapid progress of the facilities of transit, and of commerce; the surprising recent development of those rural implements and machines, by the aid of which, the resources of that rich country can now be developed, and its wildness subdued, as it was not possible that it ever could have been before; considering the results of our recent explorations and reports, and of the vast stream of emigration and of labor, both black and white, that by new discoveries and new enticements, social emigration, and political agitation, and a multitudinous array of combined causes, is now being poured down toward the Equator, in a constantly accumulating torrent; I say, considering all these, and similar facts, too numerous even to allude to here, we may even now

be nearer to the glorious goal of our effort and hope than many of our "slow coaches" suspect; the moral world does not now simply revolve, as in olden time; it whirls, and "buzzes," and "whizzes," and "sissles," out of every crevice, and crack, and joint, for God has got the steam fully up to the fair running point; and three or four million of negroes on board, to be carried only across the Mexican gulf, are hardly enough for the train to stop for; we shall probably have to throw in several hundred thousand white men, to ensure the certainty of a sure and feasible passage. But even, if for a time, they should *control*, they can never *populate* the Brazils; and if they control it *justly*, they will control it no longer than it is best that they should; and in such a climate, and in such a vast, open and peculiar country, a very unjust or cruel control is, for any length of time, simply an impossibility. For God has taken good care to make South America all right, in the outset, for the unique and peculiar part she is to play in the history and civilization of man.

It would well pay the government now to pay a fair price for all the slaves on the border states, that are willing to go, and colonize them, either in Central or South America, or in Hayti, under some sort of government or guardianship suited to their condition; and encourage as many free blacks as possible to go with them, from the other states. Both the safety of the Union and the slave property, too, as well as all other property in the Union, would be increased by the operation, for reasons that will be more fully suggested, as we proceed to other aspects of our subject.

The cotton states have no reason to apprehend a scarcity of labor from any such policy. For if they would diversify their crops, raise corn, wheat, mules, pork and stock, whenever the can, for their own consumption, and introduce the best implements of the free states for the culture of all these, and of their cotton, too, one hand would be found as effective as two or three now are, in the simple cultivation of the crop; and in picking time, they could send to their large cities, by railroad or otherwise, and get gangs of idle hands to come and pick cotton by the pound, or by the day, at far less cost, than it now takes to buy negroes, and keep them the year round, merely, or mostly, for that brief service. If white hands were obtained, they might work in fields, or in gangs, wholly apart from the negroes; and thousands might, by a little

effort, be persuaded to make it their regular annual business, to the advantage of all parties. Of course, the white men would not work with the negroes, nor would the planter ask them to do so. And as to such persons trying to persuade the negroes to run away, it is all a humbug; there is not one man in ten thousand, even of the so-called Abolitionists, that would advise a negro to run away if he could, even if laborers were taken from the free states; for there is hardly one thing that our laborers dread more than the idea that the blacks may somehow get up North, and compete with them in wages; or drive them out of the market by degrading their toil; and there is hardly a free state, where we can get even a humane law passed, for the protection of such as do, and must sometimes come, for that very reason. Laborers are the last of all men that ever want to see a negro in the North; and I believe all this cry and alarm in the South, is kept alive by a set of combined political knaves and fools, for mere selfish and political ends; and as they have got the control of the press, they keep it a-going. The planters and masters would act wisely to take care of their own real interests, without heeding them. I do not deny that there are men in the North who think slaves ought to run away; but they are very few, and mostly of the middle class, who never go South, or anywhere else, ten miles from home.

II. Again. The North can do something in this great and glorious cause, beside merely to talk. If our Northern doughfaces are not at this hour, as fully, and far more meanly responsible for American slavery, than even the slaveholders themselves, I have never been able to see it. The plain fact is, we have all been silent or sleeping partners in the game, all the way through; we have quietly pocketed the full benefits of the Union, and sold ourselves, body and soul, for its securities, offices, and emoluments. When we therefore, strut up to the South and say, "Stand by, for I am holier than thou," and demand of her alone to take all the temporary evils and risks of emancipation, she is justly disgusted and indignant. For she knows that if slavery be a crime, we are socially and politically *particeps criminis*, and ever have been. No, let the North at once manfully propose that, whenever any state, in ITS OWN SOVEREIGN CAPACITY, or any individual under the laws of any state, shall desire to emancipate their slaves, they shall receive out of the public treasury of the Union, a just and proper

share of their real value per capita; and the North, South, East and West, all share alike in the temporary losses and inconvenience of emancipation, and in the final good and glory that would accrue to the Union and the world. I am aware that many in the North will here begin to stumble over their abstractions again; they cannot run so big, and broad, and just a doctrine, through their emancipation spinning jennies, simply because it is big, and broad, and just. But my reasons for this measure, are: *First*.—It is *JUST*; due to the African race, for they have earned the whole nation far more money than it would cost. It is only “giving to the laborers who have reaped down our fields, their just hire.” *Second*.—It would be a *FINALITY*; that long sought charm of both the North and the South; and had it been done years ago, all our present loss, and tumult, and alarm, never could have occurred; and we have actually lost more money, in clear cash, in the past six months, than it would have taken to have prosecuted such a scheme for the next ten years, under any ordinary necessities of such an administration, aside from all the other manifold perils by which we are now surrounded. Such a measure, seasonably and properly prepared, would calm all unnatural and angry discussions, and all fear for ourselves, for the Union, or for our posterity, because it is *JUST*. And God himself stills all moral tempests whenever justice is fairly done; our full responsibility would then be met, and God would require no more, even if man did.

The North can afford this. The North cannot afford to allow the South to incur all the first costs and hazards, of ridding this continent of slavery, and leave to her alone all the glory of such a final result; the posterity of the North ought also to have some just share in this heritage of sunlight, this harvest of glory.

The South can afford it. Such a plan interferes with no real or pretended state or vested rights of any sort. It approaches them in no offensive spirit; it gives them full liberty, and full time, for the proper and necessary readjustment of all their civil and social institutions, according to their own ideas of duty, of justice, and of interest. It simply says to the man of the South, “Brother, we are in an evil case, all of us; we have, doubtless, all of us, been more or less remiss and delinquent, as regards our whole duty. Let us both now do our duty, heartily, as unto God, and not unto man.” Cannot the South afford this; I think I know that she both could

have done it, and would have done it, if proposed at the proper time.

•But would such a plan pay? And first I answer that it will pay, in cash down. Such a measure, if instituted, could, of course, progress only by slow degrees, and would make no sudden draughts upon either the money or the labor of the country. But its effects on social and political harmony and stability, on the rise of lands, the impetus given to Southern hope, Southern enterprise, Northern capital, commerce and skill, would be so great, that it would continually pay to the country *IN CASH*, far more than it would cost. It is, in fact, the best speculation that the American people could possibly enter into; for there is but one thing on earth or in Heaven that pays so much cash down in the long run, as *JUSTICE*; and that one thing is, *MERCY*; and in this measure they both meet, and are, therefore sure to pay well. Since the above proposal was first made to the public, it is said that a company of speculators, seriously proposed to purchase all the slave estates in a neighboring state, with the design of emancipating all the slaves, on the ground of the profits that would ensue upon the rise of land in that state alone. It may be too late, or rather not the right time, just now, to propose such a plan, but it will never be finally too late to do justice, so long as it is possible to be done; and I would not give two straws for all the emancipation gabble of that class of Northern philanthropists, who are only willing to talk, and not willing to put their hands in their pockets, and their shoulder to the wheel, and manfully help lift the black man, and the white man too, out of their present unfortunate condition, let who will be to blame or not to blame for it. A philanthropy that simply gabbles its abstractions in the ears of its oppressed or unfortunate brethren, and will do nothing more, lest it should commit some technical impropriety, is not worth the loss of the pure air that its eloquent speeches spoils. No; let us show that we are ready to do something, as well as to talk, whenever and wherever the way can be opened to us, to take our full share, and even more than our share of the burdens and losses, if there are any to be borne. For myself, I never wish the planters to free their slaves and colonize them South, without giving me and all my friends our full share in all the first costs; and, therefore, in all the final glory of the work.

But, again I ask will this pay?

When, in future ages, the equatorial warmth of the sunny South has brooded into new life, adorned with new plumage, and inspired with new songs, all the arts and ornaments of earth, clothed all its dead and mummy forms with living flesh, and made all nature radiant with the beauties, and vocal with the melodies of her own tuneful groves; when she graces all arts with the polish of her rich metals and woods; adorns all races with the splendor of her diamonds, her jewels, and her gems; when she pours abroad, over all lands, the odor of her spices, and the ocean of her sweets; when she completes the measure and the melody of their science, their eloquence, their music, and their songs, fires anew the ardor of their devotion, and gilds with a diviner radiance, the glory of their faith; and when joyously responding to these new incitements to enterprise, to justice and to peace, without painful sweat from slave or man, the myriad mechanisms of the North, like coral insects in the sea, shall perform all human toil—nature ALONE the slave—man forever free; when her engines of speed and of power, like the fiery wheels in the prophet's vision, shall course every land, and throng every sea; when the sorcery of her science shall gleam and corruscate in every Northern sky, and ceasing from conquest, the bow of her peace shall span the ocean and the land; when these two great races shall thus stand on all their polar and equatorial heights, like the Hebrews on Gerazim and Ebal of old, to shout with their myriad tongues the final jubilee of earth; to bless him that keeps, and curse him that breaks the law of his God; then it WILL PAY; justice will pay; mercy will pay; God will pay; the glory of earth and the jubilee of Heaven will pay; then shall the mighty mystery of Africa be revealed, and the true glory of America disclosed to the world. Reader! white man! black man! master and slave! what part shall you and I play in this great drama of the eternities? We have each and all alike, our own appropriate sphere to act in; let us all remember then, that

“Honor and shame from no conditions rise;
Act well your part, there all the honor lies.”

“Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, ye have done it also unto me.”

CHAPTER VI.

It is often said that slavery, or the presence of the black man, has been a curse to this country. Nothing could be more unjust or untrue. Some parts of the eloquent and far-famed book of Mr. Helper, on "The Impending Crisis," have given a wide currency to this idea. The reasonings on which this charge is sustained are based mostly on the relative value of real estate, in the North and the South, per acre; but a few words will suffice to demolish all such reasonings together. It is self-evident that the value of real estate, the world over, depends, in general, upon the density of population on it, or anticipated upon it or around it, and the value of the improvements put upon it by human labor—such as cities, factories, railroads, roads, wharves, bridges, fences, houses, farms, etc., etc. It is equally self-evident that a civilized and skillful laborer will put more of this value, in the same time, upon any given territory, than an uncivilized and unskillful one; that is, civilized and skillful labor is by far the best, but that does not prove the other good for nothing, or an absolute curse to the land. The poor, ignorant man, black or white, if he cannot do as much as his superior, or do it as well, can still do something; and God knows, and the world knows, that the poor black man has done much, and it is wrong to rob him of the full credit of what he has done; is it not? Shall we slander the poor?

We invaded the forests of North America with two distinct, great armies of laborers: one from Europe, civilized and skillful; the other from Africa, uncivilized and unskillful. The one army now, with all its white officers and commanders, in the South, amounts to some ten millions, more or less; while the great army of the North amounts to nearly twenty millions—thus having a double advantage over them in numbers, as well as in skill. Considering

the capital and education and means they brought with them, their natural efficient force is at least four (if not six) to one. Both armies began alike, ax in hand, on the Atlantic coast, and advanced, annihilating the forests as they went, toward the far West. But again the weaker division took by far the widest breadth of territory, and, of course, advanced far less rapidly; not only from want of skill and of numbers, but from breadth of work. Now, to suppose that each of these divisions should have put the same value per acre upon the territory they have occupied, is simply to suppose that one uncivilized and unskillful African can do as much work as a slave, and is, therefore, actually worth as much as some four or six civilized and skillful Europeans—which is much more than we desire to claim for the black man; for it is more than any human being, black or white, bond or free, could possibly do. But we still contend that he has done something—yea, a great deal; and that the whole country, instead of regarding him as a curse and a nuisance, are bound to regard him as a heroic co-laborer, to whom they owe a debt of gratitude they never can or will repay. Suppose, now, this Southern army of laborers had all stayed in Africa. No more would have come from Europe than have now come; for we have taken all that would come, and had no means of forcing any more. Of course one of two things must have happened: either the whole South would have remained, to this day, a perfectly worthless wilderness, or the Northern army must have turned down and cultivated it, instead of advancing to the West, as they have—and left an equally uncultivated wilderness out of the grounds now occupied in the West; for they have all had as much as they could do in the North and West, and could not have gone South without neglecting just as much somewhere else.

So far, then, from the black man's having been a curse to the soil, and depreciated its value, and all that, he has really given all the value to it it now possesses, under the direction and co-operation of his masters. They have hewn down its forests and built its cities, wharves, roads, bridges, fences, farms and houses, and thus actually given it all its real value; which the white army could not have done, for their hands were full at the North and West. In addition to this, the black man, by the culture of cotton, has vastly cheapened the clothing of the whole Northern army,

increased immeasurably their comforts, luxuries, manufactories, commerce, wealth and arts, and thus stimulated emigration and immensely swollen their numbers with all new sorts of artizans and enterprises. These, and similar facts, again show the complete social as well as civil obligation of the North to meet their full share of the temporary responsibilities and losses in the manumission or removal of the slave, whenever and however it may occur; for the North has really been more benefited by the indirect labor than the South has by the direct labor of the slave — having none of the drawbacks of his presence and influence among them.

Call the black man a curse to the soil and to the county? How astonishing! Do people really think that God has gone crazy, or abdicated his throne? If not, they themselves must surely be insane! Why, the whole country ought to consider that it owes the black men a debt it can never repay, except by doing justice, loving mercy and walking a little more humbly with its God. Look at the work he has already done. These true heroes of labor have already conquered one great empire from the wilderness, while other empires and other conquests are still before them; and the world owes them, already, a greater debt of gratitude than to any army of the much lauded heroes of war, from Xerxes' day to our own. They leave no burning cities and blood-soddened fields in their march to conquest and to empire. And they submit to no meaner or more degrading despotisms—to no more cruel suffering and hardships; and to a service infinitely less revolting, detestable and degrading. Yet, forsooth, the one is a slave, and a curse, and the other an angel and a hero: is he? "Oh, how this world is given to lying, Hal!"—*Falstaff*.

"Let not ambition mock their useful toil,
 Their lonely joys, and destiny obscure;
 Nor grin their hear, with a disdainful smile,
 These short and simple annals of the poor."

But is it said that all this should have been done without slavery—that is, without compulsory labor? If the wild man of Africa, or even our own children, with centuries of hereditary civilization in their veins, can be inured to patient and continuous industry, *without compulsion*, it surely ought to be done, and some wise man should show us at once how it can be done. But suppose the gentleman, fresh from the jungle, should choose to be excused, and thus terminate at once his own task, his own duty and disci-

pline, and all possible future high hope, both for himself and his race: what shall then be done? I admit that all this could and should have been achieved without cruelty, and without injustice of any sort, especially such as constitutes the chief staple of many of our infamous black laws; but how it could be done without a degree of compulsion that must amount to slavery, in one proper sense of that term, I cannot conceive. The philosopher who could explain it would greatly benefit the world. That the black man, when kept too long on Northern soil, depreciates it, I am well aware; but this is wholly the fault of the indolence and negligence of the white man, or of his greediness in retaining the negro after his own proper work is done, and the time for his exodus further South has come. It is not the black man's fault. But is it said that the curse consists in the deterioration of the white race itself, I admit the tendency and the fact. Mixing an inferior staple in the hopper, necessarily detracts from the perfection of the product, of course; and while the white man has leveled the negro up, the negro has also leveled the white man down. And so it has ever been. It was so in the old Roman invasions and incursions, on all sides. If there were some way that we could draw out of a barrel, with no tendency to empty it, it would be very handy; but it so happens there is not; and the race that imparts civilization by social contact must be content to be the loser, or to take barbarism in part pay, for it is all they can get from that source; and if they hold up, they must derive a new inspiration from some other source. But although I glory in being Yankee born and Yankee bred, and an abolitionist at that, to the back bone—having voted the extreme anti-slavery ticket for twenty years—I confess I have no sympathy with those terribly exquisite Anglo-Saxons who seem to grudge the little loss of moral power their own race must incur in conferring the great boon of civilization on other races and other lands; though I admit and deplore both the danger and the fact. But one great cause of this deterioration of the master lies in the fact that we have never proposed, either to ourselves or to others, any rational solution of the great problem of slavery, either as to its laws of progress, its rational responsibilities and aims, or its final and hopeful result. We have shut both races up together in FLAT DESPAIR—to an utter hopelessness of anything for the negro, but interminable slavery where he now is. The one has

felt that he **MUST** and **SHOULD** not be freed, and the other that he **COULD** not be freed, on the **SO**l, and neither could see any possible hope abroad; and after the last flickering ray of hope from African colonization died away, the white man girded himself, sternly and relentlessly, to the task of crushing the slave down to that inexorable and eternal doom, for which alone it seemed God had created him. In a despair still more hopeless, the slave sullenly and reluctantly submitted, simply because he could not help it. But nature itself forced him, even in spite of himself, to keep his eye out upon every new election, and for every new hope, of either revolution or insurrection; and master and servant were both alike degraded by this inevitable influence—the one by the rigor it incited and the suspicions it engendered, the other by the recklessness it inspired; and it is hard to say which of the two most need, at this moment, the re-invigoration of some rational hope for the final exodus of the slaves, by fair and honorable means, from the land. The millions of the North need it, too, to enable them to shape their policy and direct their power toward some truly practicable, honorable and humane end. But all these untoward evils are not the fault of the black man, nor is he therefore a curse to the land. All men are apt to attribute effects which they both feel and hate, to causes which lie outside of themselves: so the slaveholder quite naturally ascribes the present sullenness and uneasiness of the slave to Northern agitation and Northern abolition, instead of to that appalling despair which has at length settled over both master and slave, like a cloud of eternal night, engendering all sorts of rigors, phantasies and fears in the mind of the one, and all modes of distrust, fear and hate in the very bottom of the soul of the other. Instead of that genial, and gradual, and indispensable amelioration which his increased capacity demands, he is met, of necessity, with a more forbidding and hopeless frown than ever before. Now, in the direct presence of a mighty and resistless, though silent and unobtrusive cause like this, operating continually upon every human soul, white and black—shaping not only all their opinions and policies, but the most secret thoughts and feelings of their hearts—to attempt to ascribe the relative changes between master and slave to Northern agitation, or any other mere external cause, is as absurd as it would be to ascribe the daily revolutions of the solid globe to the flapping of wings and the crowing of the cocks, before

the sun-rise of each day. Mere words of any sort can never be causes; they are in their own nature, simply effects. Remove the cause, and the effect will die of itself.

The South may build a Chinese wall up to the stars, all around their empire, excluding all ingress and all egress; they may tar and feather, and hang, and burn all abolitionists inside, and forever silence all those outside; and it will not, in any considerable degree, touch, change, or arrest the inevitable march and the impending doom of this silent, omnipresent, invisible, but still resistless spiritual power, ever holding the white and the black man alike in its fatal and inexorable grasp—the grasp of a present despair and a final death. For neither human nature nor human society can live without hope. Give, then, to both the white man and the black man, a new hope, as the primary and indispensable condition of really benefiting either: **HOPE, HOPE; HELP, fellows, HELP.** These men are in the frenzy of despair: give them hope, give them hope, all history, reason and philosophy exclaim; the human soul itself shrieks out, give them hope—the only light that heaven itself can shed over the darkness of earth; **GIVE THEM HOPE**, says the thunder-peal of God's providence, bursting from the sun-lit clouds of their final tropical home, and from all the terrific storm-clouds that, in their rear, are driving them toward it. And to obey this summons, and strive to give a rational and soul-inspiring hope to all the friends of humanity, is one chief design of this unpretending little book.

But it is often said that the North and the United States government has nothing to do with slavery, and that its sole duty is, like Pilate before the crucifixion, simply to wash its hands and proclaim its innocence. Well, that must be a very singular sort of a government that really has nothing to do with the present or final weal or woe of four millions of black men and six millions of white men, occupying more than half of its natural territory. I am **SHREWDLY** inclined to suspect that God will teach them that they have something to do with it, in spite of all their parchment abstractions and declarations; and I wonder if this extremely original thought has ever occurred to any other mortal man? Possibly the recent rumors of secession and civil war may have suggested it to some one or two **BESIDE MYSELF**. I will not claim it, therefore, as a **WHOLLY** and **EXCLUSIVELY** original idea. Whenever

the United States government, as such, can cease to have something to do with slavery, common sense will cease to survive, and common humanity cease to walk above ground. And whenever its agitation ceases in the halls of Congress, all slavery over the face of the whole earth will have ceased, or all freedom on this continent will have been extinguished. There is not, and for generations to come there cannot be, a government under heaven, that has not, yearly and hourly, to do with practical slavery, in some of its multiplied forms. For wisely and humanely to guide, protect, counsel, encourage, and lead onward and upward, to a capacity for a wider freedom, the toiling and multiform millions now inevitably under some form of masterdom and bondage, is the great end of all possible human governments; and the State, the Government, the Czar, the Emperor, the Monarch, or the Republic, that attempts to ignore this high duty, is not simply a traitor, in the worst sense of that term, but an absolute, unmitigated fool. You do not often catch single monarchs in such a folly; they have too much self-respect. What, then, can the United States government do with slavery? It can possibly do but two single things: it can act firmly and wisely in its own sphere; or it can act foolishly and weakly, either in or out of it; and in both cases alike, it will still have very much to do with slavery. In every important sense of the terms, the government is, in its own nature, the servant, the mere creature of the white man; and, in the nature of things, also the natural and inevitable guardian of the final destiny of the black man—not as responsible for his present weakness, or his consequent present lot, but for the possibility of his present hope and his future ascent; and while it has no legal right, and no legal jurisdiction over either his emancipation or his person, it can, and inevitably will, shape and control his history and his final destiny. And this is the most and the best that any mortal power could possibly do for him, outside of his own personal master and friends.

As regards the proper policy of the government, two other things are self-evident:

I. A true and successful state policy must coincide and co-operate with the manifested will of God—the true “HIGHER LAW.” And the State, instead of flouting at a higher law, must simply be content to execute it, either intelligently and knowingly, or stupidly and blindly, until they get strong enough to dethrone Almighty

God; then they can do as they please. Till then, they will, in substance, either wisely or stupidly—either by wrong doing, with its attendant evils, or by right doing, with its attendant good—only execute, in the end, his higher will—his sovereign, resistless, inexorable “HIGHER LAW”—just as they always, in fact, have been doing, only they have often done it reluctantly, stupidly, wickedly, indirectly, and in spite of themselves; whereas they should have done it intelligently, directly, promptly and cheerfully. But, fortunately, the final success of his plan depends not at all on either their wisdom or folly; though their own transient well-being and comfort, and that of their fellow-men, does depend upon it.

II. The second self-evident point is, that such a just and intelligent state policy—such a wise and intelligent execution of this higher law of God—will not at all points suit the local and transient interests and prejudices, conventionalisms, axioms, customs or laws of any party, sect, state or locality whatever, and, from their standpoint, will appear at some points more or less wrong, inexpedient and contrary—at least to all their notions of justice and humanity. For God’s policies are not and cannot be made to suit either localities, or narrow parties, or sects, or states, but the great eternal whole of a broad and comprehensive humanity, whose final issues are not with the day, but with the round of eternal years. Such a policy, therefore, cannot wholly suit the narrow interests, and passions, and prejudices of the North or the South, the abolitionist or the fire-eater, the Border or the Gulf States, the master or the slave. All these will, at points, in turn approve, and in turn resist it. But in resisting, they will, in the end, though indirectly and foolishly, only aid in its final execution; and such has been the fact through the whole history of this government. And no man or men—nay, not even an angel from heaven—could execute to the letter this truly just and humane policy, without encountering more or less of this resistance, on all hands, and from all quarters—sometimes more from one, sometimes from another quarter. For God has no pet races, or pet men, or pet sects, or pet states, or pet parties, upon the earth; only some that he has got along in the great LANCASTERIAN SCHOOL of the eternities, a little further than others. As Paul so truthfully says, “he is no respecter of persons”—much less of conventionalities and parties, conditions and sects. And yet, to hear some men talk, one would suppose that the Deity was

blindfolded with mere parchments and abstractions, and compelled to feel his way, in the government of the universe, under that obvious embarrassment, much like the fabled Cyclops in search of Ulysses.

But if it be the will of God that the slaves and black men should go South, and not North, then the whole policy of this government should tend to that end : and such, as a matter of fact, it ever has been, in spite of all opposition, all prejudices, all interests and all legislation combined : and so it will ever be, simply because God is both wiser and stronger than men of all parties and all states put together. Now, what are our Fugitive Slave laws, our Missouri Compromises, and repeals, our exclusion of all slaves from Northern States and Territories, our Northern emigration societies, our Kansas raids, our Southern conquests, wars, filibusterings and purchases, and even our tolerated slave trade over all the soil, but one vast and consistent scheme of policy, directed with certain and inexorable aim, and often by selfish, unjust and cruel means, to the one great final end of concentrating the entire black race in the extreme South ? Good men and bad ones have voted against every one of these measures ; the strongest States and the strongest statesmen have opposed them : but THE GREAT STATESMAN OVER ALL was for them. The rest were mere puppets in his hand, still doing his will, still executing the very "higher law" against which they sometimes resisted, and sometimes railed and flouted ; and he will be very likely to rule this nation, and to really direct this interest, for some time to come ; for He has a party that none are likely either to out-general or defeat. Now, there never has been a single party or interest, North or South, black or white, that has not been crossed, baffled and disappointed with this policy, at one point or another, and that has not most vehemently opposed it at each of these points of local, or partisan, or selfish interest ; but the policy still moves on, in spite of democratic numbers at the North, or aristocratic pride and prestige at the South ; and, worse yet, in spite of all the both seeming and real interests of the individual black man and white man alike. Now, this general policy *is* of God ; it is his GREAT HIGHER LAW, and should be the policy of the State, and the Church, too. But its incidental cruelties, and acts of outrage and injustice, are all of man—the mere depraved human incidents, which ought, if possible, to be all swept away ;

but so long as human beings are only human, they cannot be. It is self-evident, then, in the mind place, that it is the part of a great and wise statesman not to attempt the impossibility of overthrowing this general policy, but simply, with all available humanity and justice, to strive to moderate, and limit, and assuage the attendant evils of its execution—settling it in his heart, that if he so does, he must at some points offend all parties and all interests alike—until a party can be raised up, with a breadth of philosophy and humanity, and a power of comprehension, adequate to embrace the complex issues of the whole case—which perhaps is not likely soon to be; for parties cling to their precedents and records as vehemently as club-footed men do to their stilts. But the true future record of this whole policy lies in heaven, not on earth—in the mind and thought of the eternal God, not in Democratic or Republican platforms and manifestoes. We shall always have, therefore, a Fugitive Slave law, a territorial exclusion law, and an international slave trade of some sort, good or bad, just or unjust, in their mode and form, because they are essential to the great end, though the master's temporary and personal interests are opposed to the one, and the slave's to the other; and as an abolitionist—as the true friend of the black man, and without the least regard to the interest of the master—I should be, AND AM, in favor of this policy. For it is in the highest degree impolitic, and in the end inhuman, to suffer the black race to scatter all over the North, away from their fellows, and away from all possibility of the final freedom and elevation of their race. They are weak enough, in all conscience, if kept together and united; and all proper care should be taken to keep them from scattering their numbers, and frittering away their strength in the Quixotic pursuit of a freedom that must still, in the North, forever elude their grasp. There is not one-half the real sympathy between the white people, as a whole, and the blacks, to-day, in the North, that there is in the South. In spite of the superior freedom and justice of their laws, the antipathy of race increases everywhere as we go North. It is far stronger in New Orleans than in Brazil—in Boston than in New Orleans—and so intense in Canada, that nothing but the strong arm of monarchical law could keep the blacks there from the violence of the mob for a single year; and to attempt to make a black community really free and happy in any Northern climate, is just as absurd as to

attempt to grow oranges in Greenland. Why, then, encourage them, in their weakness and ignorance, to wander from their comrades to these hopeless climes, and scatter their forces over frozen zones, where they are sundered forever from all true sympathy, and all real service to their race, as such? Is it asked what an intelligent slave can do in the South for his fellows? I answer, much, every way; and he is doing much. True, he cannot at once overturn the laws, however cruel and unjust; nor can he emancipate either himself or his fellows; nor dissolve the Union, nor shake down the solar system, not a whit more than his master can. Perhaps he has intelligence enough not even to threaten it. But there is a vast deal which every good and intelligent slave can do, and is doing, for his fellows, aside from all this; and he cannot live there without doing it. For God places no man on earth where he cannot do good to his fellows, if he chooses—not even in the solitude of a dungeon. Even Moses could do his people no good while in the court of Pharaoh, nor while wandering in Arabia, but only when he came and took up his lot with theirs, “choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a moment.” Yet this Moses had a first rate chance to run away, and say, “now I will take care of myself, and let my race and kindred go; for I can see no hope for them.” And, though I have no idea that the slaves will ever be delivered by miracle, or by servile or civil war, still there are other ways in which every good black man is, in fact, of the highest possible use to his fellows, and to his race, although oppressed and enslaved—far more so than he can be, away off in Canada or elsewhere. They need his advice, his guidance, his sympathy, and instruction, and counsel, and example, and intercession, in all their heavy, manifold temptations and trials. Make this case your own: If you and your race were in slavery, would you wish to have all your best, and boldest, and bravest, and shrewdest men run away, and leave you to your solitude and your fate, alone? There is one possible case in which you might, perhaps, wisely desire it: and that is, if you could see no possible point or future hope, either for yourself or any of your race. But that is not the case with the black man. The presence of all such men tends, by an inevitable law, to elevate the whole race, to “undo their heavy burdens,” and to fit them, and to secure to them, a broader liberty in a higher

sphere; and it is the true policy of the government to throw all possible just and humane obstacles in the way of such dispersions, and such abandonments, even though it may seem against mere individual interests. The government, as the general guardian of the future interests of the race, has a wise and humane right to insist that "every black man shall do his duty to his fellows," irrespective of all claims of the master, and not, for slight reasons, or by illusive hopes, be enticed to abandon them; and, either from a right or a wrong motive, thank God, they are sure to do it, because he will have it done. I know there are here, as everywhere, hard and extreme cases, which should be, and therefore will be, made exceptions to all general rules. And whether the government is to treat free men like felons and wild beasts, because they simply do their duty—their most solemn Christian duty, as they conceive—in these hard cases, is quite another question. True, the will of the devil may, and must at last, execute the will of God; but it would be far better done as angels do it.

Perhaps it may be said that no more slaves would, in any case, run away than fairly come under the rule of hard cases; or, at least, no more than is necessary to render slave property insecure on the border States, and thus hasten the migration of the whole of them to the South. But were there no law against it, I fear there would. They would be enticed away, in a multitude of cases, by narrow-minded and evil-minded persons, in which it was their most solemn duty to themselves, to their masters and to their race still to remain—for many masters treat their slaves so well, that they have no moral right to leave them, and no possible hope of bettering their condition by doing it: aside from all their duty to their race, and the inevitable dangers to both races from such a course.

But in another aspect of the case the best interest of the black man requires that his race should be spread widely over all our States and Territories, and thus be allowed to work upon our farms in all modes of culture, to enter all our ships, manufactories, cities, wharves, navy yards and dock yards, and especially our capitals and shire-towns, and all places where freedom is discussed and justice administered and defended; for this is his school, and must constitute the greater part if not the whole of his education, till he rises in the scale of being to a better capacity for the use of books

and other means; and it is the very best school in the whole world that his Heavenly Father could have put him into. No other country and no other place, for him, could compare with it. But in the North he can learn but little, that will be of use to him in his final home, that he does not find in the South; and, in spite of some little loss, perhaps, in this respect, the true policy of concentrating his race toward the South should be persisted in. But, on his proper territorial limits he should be allowed the widest range and the utmost freedom the government can secure to him; and above all things he ought never to be excluded from the national capital, or from any of the national navy yards or other domains in the free States. Exclude the black man from the District of Columbia, the great seat and center of all those ideas and policies that must forever shape the destinies of his race—the only place in the Union where the great principles of national and international law are continually discussed, by all classes of society, from the top to the bottom! How preposterous!! Why not exclude the white man? “But the black man can go there only as a slave.” True; but infinitely better as a slave than not at all, for without free access, or at least some access, to the capital, the education of the slave could not be complete, in this country. “But he is neither allowed to hear or to see; he is a slave; at home to work for his master.” True, again; but he has got eyes and ears, and hears and knows, and every day thinks about the practical substance of the “high debate,” oftentimes, in reality, more truly and more profoundly, though less learnedly, than does the gabbling, brainless Senator, or the stupid and doughfaced President and Judge. For God has put him in a position to see things somewhat as they really are, and the mere farce of conventionalisms, consistencies and customs does not entirely hoodwink him. It is the best school the black man—slave or free—has in the country: the very highest department in his great manual labor university; and why exclude him from it! There would be not one slave the less. The only thing would be that some hundreds or thousands of poor black people would be taken from a place of comparative ease, and of immense moral and civil advantage to their race, and sent to the Southern cotton and rice fields, where they can learn nothing, see nothing and hear nothing but the dull routine of their daily labor. Is it said that they learn nothing here?

It is slanderous, and stupid, and false! They do learn! Let any man reflect on the daily influence of such society, and he can see that no human being can fully escape it, no more than he can the presence of the vital air. It is true, he may be shut up in the house, where he neither sees nor feels the whirl and roar of the great north-westerns, but it still creeps in through every crack and crevice, and occasionally some careless master or some black friend leaves the door open, and the whole gale sweeps in. Has the reader ever thought how large a number of our most intelligent free blacks have come from regions within the moral and political influence of the capitol? and such is the mysterious law of this hereditary civilization, that no man can tell how its impressions are made, or carried abroad, or transmitted. It is supposed, for instance, by many, that Napoleon Bonaparte received his first impressions, as a warrior and a statesman, before he was born, while his mother was fleeing, in terror, from an invading foe. Many similar facts admonish us not to exclude the slave from any possible position of observation or experience which it is consistent with his final good for him to occupy, whether at the capitol or in our navy yards and forts—whether under State or national control.

“Oh, but we must relieve the national government of all responsibility for slavery!” Indeed; we must, then? Here is Pilate washing his hands again! The real amount of all of this is, that we Anglo-Saxons, with whom all wisdom and freedom must necessarily die from off the face of the earth, and for whom, therefore, all other races should simply toil—we, the great, mighty, *magna charta*, *habeas corpus*, constitutional, grand jury, grandiloquent people—must take care of our own abstractions, and consistencies, and humbugs, and let black men, and eternal justice, and truth, and realities take care of themselves. Well, now, we need not discuss this matter further; for, by fair means or foul, God will keep the black man around our national and State capitols, our court houses, and hotels, and bar-rooms: our arsenals, navy yards, fortresses and dock-yards, and all such peculiarly public places, because He knows HE NEEDS TO BE THERE. He will not, at present, stick them all away off on the solitude of the plantation and the farm, for that is not the best place for all of them. True, some will be sold South, even from Washington—even under the stars and stripes. I weep for the lot of the individual: but his mission

South, with all his (to them) new and exciting ideas, will tend still to elevate the race; and if God should ever permit the Northern slave States to commit the atrocity of selling all their free negroes down South—which he may, in due time, yet do—it would advance the race toward their ultimate freedom more than any other measure that could be instituted, and would be permitted, if at all, for that very reason alone. I have the highest respect for the motives and for the humanity of those who seek thus to sunder this government from all connexion with slavery; but I cannot accept either their policy or their reasons for it. The African slave trade will not be opened at present; not because it is any worse than the home trade, and in some respects not as bad, but simply because we have got as many blacks here as we can well manage, and its influence would in no way tend to the elevation, but to the depression of those who are here.

We thus see how wonderfully the Heavenly Father of the black man has really taken care of him, through all changes and all vicissitudes, in spite of all hatred of race, all seeming evil and all hostile legislation, as though he had been the sole and exclusive object of His care. And while the government, for years past, has attempted to ignore both the rights and the very existence of the black man, and has meanly apologised if it even seemed to regard them, it has, in reality, done better for him than such creatures could have done, from any capacity in themselves, if they had made his interests ALONE their exclusive study and care; and thus, while even scoffing at the higher law, it has still executed the will of God, as a yoked hog runs into his sty: *tail foremost*. I would only beg leave to suggest to them that there is a more dignified way of doing the same thing. The idea that four millions of people can exist, anywhere on the face of the earth, and quietly and industriously pursue their labors of industry and peace, without having their final and most substantial interests ~~called~~ ^{called for}, in fact, implies, as we have said, that God has abdicated his throne, and that the Devil is ruling in his place: a very popular theology, which I cannot accept. But, however justly we may condemn and despise the pride, arrogance, insolence, selfishness, meanness and stupidity of the agents, and their motives, we cannot but admire the consistency, grandeur, harmony, wisdom and beneficence of the great final result—the policy and care of Heaven over the

black race. And, after all, there is no conflict between the real interests of the races, and no government can legislate for the real good of the one, without promoting the good of the other. I defy them to do it.

It is scarcely necessary here to advert to those truly wise and brave and noble statesmen who have, even in the darkest times, and amid the greatest obloquies and perils, public and personal, manfully struggled to save the government and the country from the imbecility and infamy into which it has been plunged. The civilized world knows their history and their heroism so well, that it is hardly necessary to speak of them as not included in any just censures of a government which they could neither enlighten nor control. Nor is it needful to say that the chief functionaries of the government itself have been but too often the mere tools in the hands of a few desperate and apostate political traitors and demagogues, who have simply used them for their own ends more from their imbecility than from their innate depravity.

Our whole difficulty, I repeat, evidently lies in the simple fact, that we have, on the same soil, two extreme races, under two extreme civilizations, and therefore requiring two extremes in civil institutions, or in the mode and form of administering justice between man and man. It is not in the power of man to adjust either one of these extremes to the other, so that the same laws and forms shall suit both races. If it is in the power of God, Himself, it is certain He has never done it on earth, and, therefore, never showed us the way to do it. Hence we must perpetually keep up in form a double administration: one to suit the actual wants and destinies of the white race, and another to suit those of the black race. But this should be a harmless and, indeed, beautiful variety within a real harmony, without antagonism or injustice to any one: a mere variety in unity; and so, wisely administered, it would be.

As regards the policy either of admitting, or of not admitting any more slave States, the matter is somewhat more doubtful; at all events, we must not shut either master or slave up to despair, in the limits of our present Southern States, for that is the worst policy for both, and can result in nothing but St. Domingo twice told; and, indeed, it ought not to; for if men will play the fool, they ought to take the consequence of their folly. But whether the final exodus of the slaves to the South is to be overland, round

Central America, through a succession of slave or free States, so-called, or through some mixture of both, or whether he will go quietly across the seas, are questions still too far in the future to demand a present solution. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." As an Abolitionist and friend of the black man, I am unwilling at present, to pledge myself either for or against "any more slave States." I do not know what course it may be best to pursue, when Mexico and Central America come into the Union, as they are sure to do if the Union exists, (and if it goes to pieces, it will come together again and take them in, in due time, though slavery may then be gone, and probably will be,) but I think it probable that more slave States in some form, on the South will be found a political necessity, equally for the good of the black and the white man; and it is not wise to commit ourselves to distinctive political measures so far in the future; although it is wise, like sensible men, to look around and ahead upon the on-rushing destinies that await us, and endeavor to forecast the general nature of the ultimate and present policy, which these may force on us all, willing or unwilling. Without doing this we may indeed be partisans, and politicians, and "public functionaries," and demagogues, an all that; but we cannot be statesmen, fit either to rule, nor yet even to vote. That it might not be best to add slave States from even our present territory, is not perfectly clear. The wider the slave are spread over new and fresh lands, the better it will be for the comfort of the present generation; for slaves always fare best under such conditions; the whole objection, then, to spreading them arises from its effect upon the future good of their race; and the Southern additions to our slave territory would, in any respect, harm the black race, is not clear. The political objection of increasing the relative power of the slaveholders of the extreme South, is the main objection, and a very great one, unless they come to behave themselves a little more decently than they have done of late. But if the North stands its ground now, and administers the government without fear and without favor, the South can never again gain a political ascendancy in the Union, however much territory is left open to slavery, for she has nothing to fill it with; and she will come out of the present contest bankrupt, in prestige, in character, and in means. And although I voted for Mr. Lincoln, as thousands of others did, because I believed that he

would, on the whole, administer the government in accordance with my general principles, and more justly and impartially to all classes and races, North and South, than any other man; still I did it with the reserved right of not assenting in full, and in advance, to the popular doctrine of "no more slave States." And even if Mr. Lincoln himself, finds it necessary for the best good of all, to admit still more slave States on the extreme South, I should not be at all disappointed; though if so, I hope their form and policy may be so changed as to comport with the age and land in which we live, a little better than some of our slave States now do; at least, I hope they will not fall under the same persons.

Much has been said about the black man's receiving no wages, and this is urged as an objection to all forms of slave States. But among all the white men whom I have hired, of a much higher grade of civilization and skill than the negroes usually are, I know of but very few whom I would be willing to take through life, and be bound to furnish them and their families simply what, in my own judgment, they might need from day to day. It would be much better for me, as now, to pay them common wages and let them provide for themselves, than to run any such risk; and it is but a poor provision that most of them can make for themselves, even with the most industrious toil, if they have no other resource than their daily wages. And most black men would do far worse, because they are not yet, in general, as far advanced as these whites are, and will not be for some generations yet to come. As soon as they are as far advanced, it will be better for the master to pay them wages than it will to provide for them as now. But it is neither fair nor honest to say, that because the slave has no daily or weekly sums in money, that, therefore, he has no wages; many of them receive all, and actually more than they really earn, and far more than they could possibly earn for themselves, apart from their masters skill and care, superintendence and capital. Others (and how many I cannot say) are worked, starved, whipped, and jammed about in a way that it is shocking to contemplate, and a disgrace to even a barbarian State to allow; others, are, themselves, worthless, and unprincipled, and ugly, and get nothing, simply because they deserve nothing; others are intelligent, polite and obliging to their masters, and all others; far enough advanced in their own civilization as individuals, to be capable, not only of free-

dom, but of high responsibilities ; and if it were not for the need of their social influence and example in helping to lift up their fellows beneath them, justice would demand that they should be set immediately free ; and in former times it was so, and will be so again, when the present nightmare of the South has passed away, and a better hope, and a consequent better temper, takes its place. I volunteer these remarks mainly to show some of my Abolition brethren in the North, the extreme injustice, if not wickedness, of judging men, whether black or white, master or slave, by their mere general name or class ; for we shall ever find the best of men as well as the vilest, in nearly all classes. And although absolute necessity compels us to deal with men politically, only in classes, it is totally unjust, as a mode of private and social, and especially of christian judgment and action. But suppose this whole system of service for house rent, food and clothes, for themselves and their families, was changed, and a system of weekly wages substituted by the master in its place. That there would be some advantages I freely admit ; but that they would be practically as great as many suppose, I deny ; for many of the most advanced negroes it would, doubtless, be better ; but for the others, I fear it might be even worse. At any rate, the negro, whether he received his wages in the form of money, or in the form of food, shelter and clothes, must still be, while he is at work, under the absolute control and direction of the master ; with a liability, in sickness, in scarcity of crops, or of work, or from his own but too easy negligence of the future, to come to absolute want ; and so long as the State held him under the same practical outlawry and anarchy, under the same doleful despair of all hopeful future, as now, such a change, in my opinion, on the part of the master, could, in no case, do but little good, and in many cases would do evil. For the plain reason that the mere hope of a pittance of weekly wages, in any form, is a thing quite too small to inspire and sustain, much less to elevate any human soul. Here, again, our higher hope is indispensable ; a hope of progress, of country, and of race, somewhere, either in the present or the dim future, is indispensable ; and it is a mistake to suppose that any race are too low to be either elevated and inspired by its presence, or too high to be crushed by its absence, for God has never made any such races. But some few of my abolition friends think that no slaveholder can be a good man, or deserve

any rights at all, from any source. "How," say they, "can a man, who, by his example, sanctions the atrocious code of slave laws, be a good man?" Suppose now the United States should enact and ordain that it should be perfectly lawful for any man engaged in commerce on the high seas to rob, kill, and murder, to any extent, with impunity, and declare it meritorious so to do. What should be done? Should all commerce on earth at once cease? Suppose a man, favorably situated for commerce, should say to himself, "I care nothing for this cruel and outrageous law; I shall engage in commerce as though it had never existed; I shall rob no man, and wrong no man, although this law gives me leave so to do." *Does this man now sanction the law?* In my opinion, the common sense of the human race would decide that he was giving the most explicit testimony against the law, that any man possibly could; for while he is under the greatest possible temptation to avail himself of the selfish advantages of the law, he refuses to do so, and thereby gives the highest possible testimony of moral principle against it; and precisely so of every slaveholder who treats his slave justly and humanely in spite of the law; instead of sustaining the cruel system, as embodied in the law, no man on earth can do more to undermine and destroy it. Is it said that the cases are not parallel because commerce is a lawful business. If we consult the records of the race, and the will of God, we shall find masterdom, absolute power of man over man, a more lawful business, and more early, and more widely introduced, than any form of commerce; and introduced, also, as we have seen, for higher and nobler ends—the civilization of all races. Our practical difficulty is, I repeat, that we have brought two extreme races together, one of which, by its own nature and habit, is manageable only by masterdom; the other has passed so far beyond it, that it can have no possible sympathy with it; nay, can scarce tolerate its existence. And this fact is giving this nation a higher schooling and discipline, a deeper insight into the essentials of all freedom and justice, and a broader comprehension of the true end of all laws and policies, than any nation ever could have had before. And it is time for us to break through all our conventional shells, and look out upon the great facts and inherent principles of the case, as they really are. Is it said that all laws and institutions requiring compulsory labor are a barbarism, and tolerated only by barbarian society? I admit that

all laws adapted to a barbarian race, must, in their own nature, in one sense, be barbarian laws ; just as the laws for the soldier must be military, and not civil law ; the laws for the insane, insane laws, if you please, in the same sense ; but it does not follow that either should be unjust, or administered insanely or barbarously, or by an insane or barbarous man ; nor does it follow that the society which enacts and tolerates such forms of law, are either uncivil, or insane, or barbarian. But only, simply that they have soldiers, or insane, or semi-civilized men to deal with ; a law most fit for these may be perfectly absolute, strict, and rigorous, and totally unfit for all ordinary civilized life, and, therefore, neither a civil nor a civilized law ; while still most wise, just and humane, both in its design and its administration. Of course, I do not pretend that our present infamous slave codes are such. But if made just what they ought to be, they would still be, in one sense, only barbarian laws, just so far as adapted to barbarian men. And, on this subject, we should take care not to blind our minds, nor inflame our passions, by the use of mere words.

CHAPTER VII.

The present secession *emeute* has sprung mainly from these causes. Our fathers wisely and humanely tolerated the absolute form of rule, in the shop and the field, for the uncivilized race, alongside of the democratic form for the more advanced race—trusting to the humanity and patriotism of the master to make it no more severe, and of no longer continuance, than the absolute exigency of the case required. The direct contrast of the two forms of administration inevitably provoked discussion and remark, both from the free whites and from the emancipated blacks. The freedom of the North aroused the violence and the antagonism of the South, which finally eventuated in two opposite fanaticisms—the one of the extreme North, and the other of the extreme South—both hostile to the just and humane Union of the fathers, and still more hostile to each other. In this contest the North was perhaps the first offender in words, but the South in acts. The three prime offenders at the North, as all the world knows, were William Lloyd Garrison, the elder Lovejoy, and John Brown. The first offense of each of these men was simply and solely that they maintained that freedom of speech which, the world over, has been deemed the indispensable prerequisite of free institutions, in any shape whatever. For this, Garrison was imprisoned, and driven from the South, and even mobbed, threatened and insulted in the North; Lovejoy was first expelled from St. Louis, and finally shot in Alton; John Brown had his property and rights outraged in Kansas, and his children murdered before his eyes in its defense, under the pretended authority of that very Constitution that was pledged to give, both to freedom and to slavery, only substantial justice; and, falling into a natural and almost inevitable hatred of all tolerance of even a necessary absolute rule, he sought redress and revenge in his own way, and finally perished on the scaffold.

Senator Sumner spoke only as a free man—whether truly or not, so lawfully, and so circumspectly, that his opponents, in full power around him, could not call him even to order. He was afterward smitten down, while sitting, unarmed and defenseless, in his own seat in the Senate Chamber of the United States. The acts of outrage of the Southern fanatics, in their manifold riots, and lynch laws, and outrages—in seceding from the Union, seizing upon the United States forts, arsenals, mints, ships, and property of all sorts, firing upon the United States flag, and throwing all manner of insults and indignities upon the citizens of the North and the Union of the fathers—are too well known to need a rehearsal.

It thus appears that the Southern fanaticism has been, in EVERY INSTANCE, the FIRST AGGRESSOR IN ACT; and whether any less the aggressor in word than their compeers at the North, the daily records of Congress, and of the speeches there, as well as the whole newspaper and other literature of the South, shows, and shows beyond all question, to any tolerably sane man. It may be said that the South had a “peculiar institution,” and were therefore placed in peculiar circumstances. And so had also the North; for slavery is no more the “peculiar institution” of the South, than freedom and free speech are of the North; and if the South or the North have not sense enough to defend their own peculiar institutions, without resort to tyranny and brutal violence, it is their own fault, and their shame, too, and not the fault of their neighbors. It will be seen from the foregoing pages how easy it is to defend both forms of institutions, so far as they are either needful, or profitable, or defensible; and how entirely consistent they are for certain ends—those very ends which the Constitution of our fathers proposes—and how utterly inconsistent they are on all other grounds, and for all other possible ends, except those which God has ordained, and which the whole spirit, as well as the letter, of our almost inspired Constitution of the Union allows. Within the bounds of that Constitution, nothing but real justice, in the highest and most enlarged sense, can be done to either race; step outside of it, and God, and nature, and all history, and civilized man, are equally opposed to the terrible anarchy you at once inaugurate over the white race, and the still more terrible tyranny and despair you bring, like one vast deluge of endless night, over all possible hope of the black man. Fanatical seceders on both sides will find at

last that they are not warring against mere paper conventionalisms, but against the deepest principles of God's eternal laws, and the deepest elements of human nature itself. South Carolina is, at this moment, at war with Almighty God, and with the whole human race, as really as with the Union of the States; and the whole utterance of the monarchial press in England and in France shows that they feel this outrage upon the rights of human nature as keenly as we do, and are no more disposed to tolerate it. Still, the grave Senators, and even the divines, of that great State, most innocently inform us "that the citizens of South Carolina have by no means lost any portion of their patriotism, but only transferred it from the Union to the State." Indeed! The patriotism of South Carolinians, then, it seems, is really a *transferable commodity*, as the world has always had good reason to suspect. And what would the State do, if at the next move they should take a notion to transfer it to a pet monkey, or a favorite dog? But the simple fact is, that the Constitution is based on the simple and indispensable idea of TOLERATING slavery, in States where it must of necessity remain, so long only as that necessity may continue, and even of sustaining it there, so far as violence is appealed to by the black man; for all such appeals could only result in his deeper degradation, or his utter destruction—and of PROPAGATING ONLY FREEDOM in all other States and Territories which are in any sense prepared to receive it. John Brown, and a very few others on the extreme of the Northern fanaticism, apostatized and rebelled against the needful TOLERANCE of the law: and he was executed upon a gallows. South Carolina, and the Southern fanatics by thousands, have apostatized from and rebelled against the indispensable FREEDOM of the law; and if they are not executed on a gibbet, they will come to a still more disastrous and ignominious end. John Brown and his associates, and Gov. Wise, Rhett, Keitt, and their associates and conspiring traitors and apostates, stand on precisely the same platform in principle against the Union, except that the one revolted against the serfdom of the inferior race, and the other against the freedom of the superior race. The first may have at least the inferior races in its favor; the last is a simple conspiracy against human nature itself, as a complete whole, and can meet no sympathy the world around, except the sympathy of temporary, excited tumult and passion. If we could hold it still, it would

inevitably die in its own tracks. But we may undoubtedly set down the war of these two apostate, inhuman and unreasoning fanaticisms, as one prime cause of our present anarchy in the South.

Another cause is the continuous subserviency of Northern doughfaces to Southern slaveholders, which has, in practical effect, invested them with the entire control and management of the government for many years past. Real freedom has scarcely dared to peep under the Constitution and laws, for almost half a century. This is the most amazing and despairing view of all. That a free people, brought to the polls every year, under a government wholly in their control, and under a Constitution not only ignoring, but abjuring, all nobilities and *castes* whatever, should, year after year, steadily, practically stultify themselves, and paralyze their own constitutional power in the administration of the government, by throwing its whole force into the hands of one little clique, or *caste*, or oligarchy, of not more than three or four hundred thousand slaveholders, instead of giving it to the twenty millions of non-slaveholders in their own ranks—this is a fact that would have baffled all prophecy, and even now almost staggers all belief, as well as annihilates all hope for the ultimate success of any mode of free institutions in this present age of the world. I do not at all blame the South for this. It is both natural and also right for men to take power when it is offered to them, and use it as best they can. I blame the mean, contemptible, low-lived, doughfaced North, that never had, and I fear has not now, the manhood or the dignity to stand for its own safety and its own rights. By this course of policy, the slaveholders have become almost as much accustomed to their own rule, in Congress, and over the twenty millions of non-slaveholders, as they are on their own plantations, and over their three millions of negroes. So far, at last, has this proceeded, that all branches of the government combined are found as perfectly powerless to resist or restrain, not only their lawful acts of rule, but their confessedly unlawful acts of treason, rapine, robbery and civil war, as are the negroes on their own plantations. And still, even yet, these white negroes of the North sympathize with them, apologize for them, and even aid and abet them, or at least submit and treat with them, in their crime and treason. Thus they have been constantly nurtured to the habit and use of this enormously disproportionate share of power in the Union, till they have come at

last to feel and to believe that no check whatever should be placed, or can be placed, upon their free and absolute will, and, if it is attempted, that they will secede, and form an empire by themselves. Let no man, then, say that these three hundred thousand slaveholders have destroyed this government. It is not so; they had no power to do it. It is the twenty millions of abject non-slaveholders, led on by our Northern doughfaces, who have, time after time, sold out the Union, to save the State stocks and mortgage deeds to slave property, and other assets in their pockets, as Judas betrayed Christ for thirty pieces of silver, and in the same way, too—ever with a fine, smirking, hypocritical kiss of pretended fraternal peace of some sort: and they are just as ready to enact the same farce over again to-day as they ever were before, in spite of all that has happened, and, I fear, will be even more ready for it in 1864 than they are now. What wonder that these stern, unfeeling and unscrupulous Roman soldiers of the South should crucify a liberty which they can neither use nor understand, thus hypocritically betrayed into their hands!

But the immediate cause of the final explosion of this train of causes was the temporary and unexpected reaction of the majority of the non-slaveholders against this combined and procrastinated tyranny and treachery of the slaveholders and their allied doughfaces of the North; and, as all reactions are liable to go too far, the one now proposed to close up the only natural egress for slavery from this continent on the South, as well as arrest its spread and its power on the North, and thus it shut up the slaveholder (as we have seen) and the black race together, to the terrible despair of fighting out their final destinies in a climate which inevitably gave to the white race an ever-increasing supremacy of power and to the blacks an equally fearful final supremacy of numbers, with no possible hope of either real freedom or real peace to either race, except by lifting the black man into an equal, if not a superior democracy, *on that same soil*, or crushing him into utter insignificance and *annihilation*; and it is hard to tell which is, in reality, the most absurd, impracticable and cruel of the two possible plans. For the white race could not survive the one, nor could the blacks endure the other; hence nothing was left but blank, outright despair for at least one race, if not for both; and, with the present power of the whites, which of the two

must, in fact, take the practical if not the actual extermination, in the end? Even the negroes themselves have sense enough to see, and hence, too, their despair. This new aspect of affairs at once fired the whole train of antecedent causes, and threw the slave States of the extreme South into an attitude of open rebellion and resistance, either for the purpose of again frightening the dough-faces of the North, and recovering again their lost empire in the Union, or of forming a new empire outside of it, under which slavery and the black race shall either have free scope to travel still on its journey South, or be sustained by political institutions, in harmony with its perpetual existence on the soil where it is. Probably some cherish at heart one of these plans and some the other.

Thus it seems that the natural antagonism and mutual exasperation of these two fanaticisms — the one against the tolerance of the law in the North, the other against the freedom of the law in the South — nurtured, and inflamed and spread abroad by the inherent cowardice, and treachery, and insolence, and toryism of South Carolina politicians for almost half a century past, and the nurtured habit of the unquestioned supremacy of the slave power in the State meeting with a sudden and unexpected defeat: with all apparent hope of relief, for their slave population, toward the South thus cut off, combined with a cherished ambition for empire in that direction, either in the Union or out of it — are the real, moving causes of the present *emeute*.

Whether the weak and contemptible old man at the head of the government was paralyzed by the explosion, or quietly and treacherously aiding in the firing of these various trains, is perhaps not material to consider: for, in either case, he was alike, as usual, the mere tool of others, and has done nothing either for himself or his country; but it is self-evident that but one of two things can now be done: *First*—SAVE THE UNION by the just, impartial and fearless execution of its constitution and laws, at all risks and at all hazards whatever. *Second*—To SELL IT OUT by some sort of bargain or compromise with traitors, with arms in their hands and millions of its stolen property still in their possession — on some programme presented by their special attorneys in Congress and their doughface, stock-holding and stock-jobbing allies, and slave-holders and slave-dealers in our great cities at the North.

But, after we have thus SAVED THE UNION, and really found out that we have a GOVERNMENT of SOME SORT, at least, to use, we should take care, and in all proper ways pledge ourselves to use it, in advance, if need be, only for the ends of justice, and for the highest good of BOTH OF THE TWO GREAT RACES OF MEN over which it is to be administered; and, if there is any truth in the principles of this book, the general government should never interfere with the master in any shape, either directly or indirectly, in the slave States—should in no way, by free States or otherwise, block up or impede the free exodus of the race toward the South, but in all possible ways encourage it as the only hope of either race; while it should restrain, by all proper means, their spread and emigration toward the North: tolerating and encouraging, meantime, the presence of the black man at the capital, and on all public grounds and places, whether as a free man or a slave, within the general range of the territory on which it is proper for him still to remain—always preferring freedom to slavery and freemen to slaves, or to slaveholders, even, where they can be had; but where they cannot, oppressing none, injuring none: nay, not even annoying any man, whether black or white, on the ground of any mere external and conventional usage or law of human society whatever.

There are two ideas in connection with this subject that, if real, are truly most appalling. The one is, that the whole South has come, at last, to the unconscious and unuttered conviction (but all the more real because it still is both unconscious and unuttered) that any democratic form of government whatever is totally inconsistent with their cherished institution of slavery, and have therefore instinctively set themselves about righting their position, without knowing or confessing the dreadful fact, even to themselves, that a military despotism is in reality indispensable to their condition, whatever honeyed names and forms it may assume.

The other idea is still worse: it is the suspicion that the South, under slave rule and nurtured mob law, have become so reckless, self-lh and insolent, and the North, by so long cowering before that domination, have become so demoralized, mean, dastardly and cowardly, that neither party are fit any longer to preserve or to have free institutions, but both parties must alike go into the mill of despotism and be ground over again, along side of the negroes, before they can be refitted for any such high use.

The developments of a few months will probably decide all these great questions; and that shows us, at once, that we are in the very midst of a political and moral crisis, such as neither this continent nor the history of the world ever but once before saw, and that was an event that shook the earth and darkened the sun itself.

If it should turn out, in the end, that the South cannot any longer maintain free institutions, and needs and must have an entire system of government peculiarly her own, let her rebuke her present traitors, restore the property they have stolen and petition the North to let her go free, by mutual consent, and we are bound to do it by every consideration of right and of humanity; and all this gammon about inevitable civil war—if the thing is needful for them, and sought and obtained honestly and openly—is a mere humbug. We need not fight across a mutual slave State line, no more than we do across the Canada line, or across the same line now. Most true such a division implies costs and hazards, more or less, and is inexpedient in itself, if it can be avoided, and totally INADMISSIBLE AS A CONCESSION TO TREASON, UNDER EVERY POSSIBLE HAZARD, but as a thing found indispensable to our friends at the South—if in fact it be so—and properly sought and obtained, by them, on grounds that do not destroy the possibility of all hope of any future government whatever—it is nothing so very dreadful, after all; and I notice that those declaimers, who have some political “ax to grind,” either North or South, have always been most loud and terrific on the utter hopelessness of all possible peace or civilization outside of our present form of Union. Why, [it is scarcely six months, now, since the whole gang of political traitors, and hypocrites and scoundrels who are now plotting its destruction, orated, in precisely the same way, about the unutterable value and necessity of the Union as it now is. But then they wanted to scare the Northern doughfaces, and drive a political bargain with them, which should place themselves in power in the Union as it is. Now it is quite another thing; and, as they are not in power, they are quite ready to destroy it—not by a fair and honorable dissolution, but by the most open and shameless hypocrisy and treason. Just so some of the special attorneys of these traitors still talk, when they want to scare doughfaces; but if the slaveholders, and property owners, and sober, thinking men of the South—without the coercion of politi-

cians, minute men, vagabonds and beggars—deliberately come to the conclusion that their peculiar form of society needs a different form of government from ours of the North, and simply and quietly ask us to grant it, without any succumbing to traitors or any disastrous implication of all future rule, why, in the name of common sense, should we not grant it to them, and let them manage their own affairs wholly in their own way, as well as to let them manage both theirs and ours too, as they have done for twenty years past? We surely have stood it very well, and are still STANDING IT VERY WELL, to let them manage both their affairs and ours, too: not only by law, but without law, by apostacy and treachery and outlawry of the most damnable sort; and if we can so quietly stand all this, and if all our old political grannies and doughfaces and white negroes of the North can not only stand it, but connive at it, and apologise for it, they could surely afford to let the South manage simply her own affairs in her own way, if she really desires and properly seeks to do so. What so terrible in all this?

It is my own most unwavering conviction that it is utterly impossible for the South to allow of the freedom of speech or of the press, or to sustain any form of free institutions, coincidently with the idea either of the PERPETUAL AND INTERMINABLE SLAVERY of the black race or of their EMANCIPATION ON THE SOIL. In the one case, the barbarism of the master, in the other case, that of the slave, would inevitably destroy all possibility of any such freedom. Under either of these ideas a despotism of some sort, and of the strongest kind, too, is not only the best but the only hope of the South, and she ought to be allowed to choose it whenever she pleases properly to signify it, whether instituted under republican or monarchial names and forms. But let her state her case and her wishes manfully and honestly. We cannot allow her political demagogues and traitors and low border ruffians to enact treason and institute a hypocrisy and a farce, in her name or in ours. EMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION of the BLACK RACE toward the south is, therefore, not only the only social hope of each race alike, but the full and free proclamation of this hope, with the great Southern highway ever open for their free passage to the South, is the only possible basis of free speech or a free press, or of any form of free institutions in the South, except in the bare name, like the Republic

of Rome under the Cæsars, or the Democracy of France under Louis Napoleon.

On the basis of this hope, duly proclaimed, appreciated, and fostered by the States and by the co-operating policy of the general government, the South might remain in the Union; find all her interests secured; more secure than they have ever been before, because placed on a humane and logical basis, that commends itself to the humanity of mankind; all her institutions, both defensible and free; her taxes and expenditures light; and her future career one of unprecedented development, beneficence, glory and renown; ever doing good to all races on the face of the earth, and evil to none; and beloved and respected, therefore, by all, and hated and feared by none. Under such auspices, the North would feel easy, and willing to concede all ample time, and all possible aid to their brethren, thus striving to work out one of the greatest problems for the race, and of all ages of the world, and no longer be impelled to attack her State, and Church, and family, and even her philosophy, as the most hideous barbarism on the two civilized continents. And if the South cannot thus take up this policy and this new hope, and give it to all her people, black and white; and if the North cannot thus quietly and humanely wait, and watch, and aid in its realization, the quicker the two parties peacefully separate all their formal political relations, the better it will evidently be for both; for they can have no common element, either of philosophy or of faith, of government or of law, of destiny or of hope; and it is possible that they should longer continue under the same institution, only in bare name and pretense—not in reality and in truth. Why then try to play off the miserable farce in the face of the world? Why longer make both parts of the government a perpetual correlative lie to each other, and a conscious hideous cheat to all the rest of the world, under pretexts of a union, when all possible reliable union is a self-evident absurdity? Civil war itself could scarce be worse, and far less demoralizing than such a mean, miserable, hypocritical farce, continuously enacted in the face of the civilized world; for the meanest of all villains, though the least bloody, it may be, is the conscious hypocrite and liar. Let us have our manhood; in Heaven's name let us have our manhood, though we have to take it, single handed and alone, and sink all mere Unions and conventionalisms in the bottomless pit to get at

it: and if the true manhood of the South is, and must be, in its form, different from our own, and if there is no honorable help for it, no rational hope for a common development under the same FINAL HOPE, and the same PRESENT FORMS, why, let her, in due form, seek to take her own destiny in her own hands, and go along with it as best she can, and God bless, and keep, and enlighten her as she goes. Why should we cripple, or restrain, or harm her, if she does not assail us; and she is bound, under her system, by FOUR MILLION OF JUSTICES OF THE PEACE, to keep the peace with all mankind—bonds that are heavy enough in all conscience; and the North could make some treaties of alliance with every State on the the continent, in three months' time, that would render all undue extension of her empire, far more hopeless outside of the Union, than it ever has been within it.

It is most true that COTTON IS KING, and must be for some centuries to come, simply because the interest of clothing the human race can, and will be, concentrated and monopolized in the manufacture, while the collateral interest of feeding them cannot be. But then, it should be remembered that cotton is a king that, like South Carolina, holds to *secession* and a transferable patriotism. He has already, in effect, seceded, and removed his throne from the midst of traitors to more genial regions in the far South; and, as things are now going, it cannot be half a century before his entire court, and prime ministers, will be the myriads of black men between the tropics, instead of a handful of white mad-caps in the South, and all his great capitals and emporiums of commerce will be there; for he is evidently ashamed, both of his retinue, and of his company, where he now is. QUEEN FLAX is also evidently fitting up her royal robes, and preparing, meantime, to establish a correlative, if not a rival empire in the far North; and after South Carolina has been ground for half a century between the upper and nether millstones of these two secessions, she will be looking out for some new "TRANSFER OF HER PATRIOTISM."

If this secession should be, in fact, dealt with in strict accordance with those laws of nature, of freedom, and of God, which have already been referred to, it will, in the end, prove the greatest blessing to this country and to the world, that has happened to it for many a year. It will, of necessity, break up and annihilate all those infamous and detestable hypocrisies, and shams, and lies, that

we were trying to enact, and to palm off upon ourselves, and upon the world; it will show all good men at the North and the South, more clearly and more truly to each other, and to the world; and cause them to fear each other far less, and respect each other far more; it will disclose more clearly the true grounds, and peculiar nature, workings and value of our civil and social institutions, and lead either to their more ardent and earnest support, and to a bold and manly exchange, or readjustment of them to suit our present actual condition and wants; and if the South and the North only but once come to see each other, and all their peculiar relations, interests, wants and duties, both to white men and to black men, precisely as they, in fact are, the reign of quacks, hypocrites, knaves, cheats, liars and rebels, will cease; the reign of reason, truth, and real righteousness commence; and whether under separate and somewhat diverse forms of civil order, or together, and under the same forms as now, the whole country will, as a natural consequence, become more peaceful, prosperous, happy, glorious and free, than it has ever been before.

Do men really think that God has undertaken to colonize this great continent with these two great races of men, and that he is now about to cave in, and back down, and give up the enterprise, and throw the whole continent back into a barbarism, because the great State of South Carolina has failed to appreciate properly, our paper constitutions, and laws, and under the temporary guidance of a few fanatical fools and traitors, refuses to obey them? If this is really so, he had better abdicate the government of this part of the world, in favor of old General Jackson, and let us go on again to achieve the glorious destinies evidently before us.

But, no. It is possible that we need checking and chastising, and even some new direction in our career; but not its arrest, or its final or even temporary annihilation. Under the constitution of the United States, we started right; right politically, right socially, right commercially, right industrially, right philosophically, right humanely, right morally, and right religiously; and the man, the party, or the power that simply restores the administration to its original spirit and power, will be right before God and man; and if opposed and assailed by cowards on the one hand, or by rebels and traitors on the other, he will still meet the approbation of the truly wise and good in all ages, and the sympathy and respect of

the civilized world. May God in His mercy grant us the man and the grace for the hour.

So far as the principles of the eternal justice are concerned, the constitution is well enough; and all we need is, that it should be enforced on all men—black, white, North and South. I would not imply, that in all its details, and all its words, it is absolutely infallible, as some seem to think it to be; but that it is infinitely better than any other instrument that we could hope to construct in the present condition of agitation, in which we are now thrown; for if we are—as facts abundant show—wholly incapable of its rational interpretation and administration, what sort of a figure should we cut in a council, over its reconstruction and amendment. Politicians, for instance, and even grave divines of the South, call on the North to put down by force of law, all “unchristian and violent agitation of the slavery question.” Others call for the hanging of Henry Ward Beecher, Garrison, Sumner, Greeley and others. But for what? Why, simply and solely for freedom of speech!! Thus it is plain that one of the first platforms in our new constitution of freedom, must be either to punish or hang men for the honest utterance of their opinions!! Indeed, this is the main point insisted upon by our Southern friends. Well, what sort of a figure would a free Republic cut in the history of the world, which begins with punishing or hanging men for the utterance of their opinions? I admit it is far better to do it by constitutional and enacted law, than by lynch law, as it is now suffered to be done in the South. But it seems to me it would be quite an innovation on our present constitution, and the common idea of democratic freedom, to hang by constitutional law, all men who differed from us in opinion. And if this is to be the first article in the proposed constitution, I have some fears that even the doughface North, however servile in the past, might seriously object to the ordinance. For example: I have written this little book with the honest and hearty intent of defending the just rights of the master and the slave; of the North and the South. I have given it freely into the printers’ hands to publish, if they see fit. I am well aware that in many things I may have wholly erred; but whether I have erred or not, I have some very particular and PERSONAL objections to being hung, even by a constitutional Republic, for simply writing it; and I am of the opinion that it would not be pleasant to my publishers to swing

for publishing it. I think we should therefore vote against the first article in the new constitution, whether anybody else did at the North or not.

But leaving the general principles of the constitution to stand as they are, I frankly confess that it has ever been my opinion, that its provisions for administrative capacity and effect, are wholly defective, and on all philosophical grounds, call most loudly for some practical remedy, though I see not now how it could be supplied.

The *first* defect in our practical administration relates to the DIFFUSION of the FRANCHISE; the *second* to the DIFFUSION of INTELLIGENCE; and I think the one has been suffered to run in quite too wide, and the other in quite too narrow limits. It seems to me that the true theory of republican government, and the only theory that can be widely and safely applied in this age of the world, is the theory of a succession of sovereignties, confined strictly to the established households of the white race on this continent. I do not believe that the gregarious multitude of rambling men and boys, with no fixed home, and no fixed responsibility for anything, can be safely intrusted with the conduct and the issue of our peculiar and critical responsibilities in the government of the diverse races and interests on this great continent. This individual sovereignty and franchise rests on no principle whatever that is at all defensible, till all our woman and children are brought to the polls, as well as ourselves. and then its innate absurdity would be fairly and logically played out.

But suppose we start with the principle of EQUAL HOUSEHOLD SOVEREIGNTY, and consider every house or family of white persons, in other respects eligible to that position, as the PRIMARY, ULTIMATE SOVEREIGNTY IN THE LAND, and therefore to be entitled to ONE VOTE, to be cast by the lawful head of that family, whether male or female—all such heads of families or households to be recognized and registered by law, in the precinct where they vote, previous to their right to vote in that precinct. I think any thinking man will at once see the equality, justice and expediency of this system, and the great and terrible dangers which it would avoid, which lie inherent in our present system. I will not, therefore, argue in its defense, further than to say that it begins the organization of the the State precisely where God and nature begin the first organization of human society, and is therefore both natural and divine in

its origin and foundation. It alone recognizes the proper dignity and privilege, and presents proper encouragement and security to that elemental institution of God, the FAMILY. It relieves us of a vast floating and utterly irresponsible vote, in the shape of thoughtless and reckless young men, wandering rovers and vagabonds, who care nothing for the family, or the State, and can be held to no proper responsibility for either. It is equal to the poor and the rich, for every family, high or low, would have one vote; and as regards what that should be, it should be left to be decided by private discussion and moral influences, wholly among themselves; for the State should assume that a house or family cannot be divided, just as the nation now assumes that a State cannot. Thus the FAMILY is the first or elemental EMPIRE; the SCHOOL DISTRICT the next in order; the TOWN the next; the COUNTY the next; the STATE the next; and the UNION over all—a perfect, natural and logical system, starting out of the original germ planted by God himself. That this would result in a great contraction of our present individual poll, I admit; but is there a thinking, unbiased man, either North or South, who does not see that such a contraction would conduce greatly to the stability, the good order and the dignity of the State? On this ground, also, I approve of the law which, under the Constitution, recognizes the master as the head of the household, however many slaves he may have; and I only wish the same principle was in effect extended over the whole North. From what has before been said, however, I am opposed to a black man's having anything to do with the political institutions of the United States, for the same reason that I am opposed to a white man's having anything to do with those in Liberia or in Hayti, or in any other place out of his own natural climate, and under the Equator. For the rule of the white races in all the South, and of the black races in all the North, is an outrage upon nature, which should never be tolerated, except in cases of dire necessity, where no other rule can be instituted; and even then, only to meet such a temporary exigency.

But the proper DIFFUSION of INTELLIGENCE is a still more important matter than the control of the franchise; for fifty thousand stupid or misinformed men could as readily destroy the government as twice that number, if they controlled the election by their own will. All parties, and all statesmen, from Washington down,

have eloquently declaimed on the indispensable necessity of intelligence to the perpetuity of our free institutions. But what sort of intelligence is needed? Must it be apposite intelligence? or intelligence wholly inappropriate, and therefore useless, or wholly absurd and false, and therefore to the same degree dangerous in the extreme? If a man had a ship at sea under his general care and superintendence, he would hardly fancy that reading about old Greece and Rome, whether in Latin or Greek, or about the laws of grammar, or the pure mathematics, or the fixed stars, would give him precisely the right sort of intelligence about the whereabouts, and dangers, and wants, of his ship at sea. Still less, if he was informed that it was in Japan, when in fact it was at Cape Horn; or that it was still safe in the harbor, while it was almost in the great Northern Maelstrom; would his intelligence be of much practical use to him. In other words, our intelligence must in all cases be SPECIFIC, APPOSITE and RELIABLE, or it is only useless, or infinitely worse than nothing. If we mean anything, therefore, worth saying, when we speak of the intelligence indispensable to the safety of the Republic, we mean that all our voters should be duly supplied with SPECIFIC, APPOSITE and RELIABLE POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE; for it is self-evident that no other sort of intelligence can in the least degree aid them, in the discharge of their political duties. And yet, strange as it may seem, we have never, to this day, taken the least pains or care, after all our talk, to diffuse this precise intelligence among any portion of our people; and we have never inaugurated one single rational institution, instrument, process or means for so doing. We send our children into our schools, and they study everything under heaven but that; and a bright, smart boy might stay in our schools, and study in the regular courses of instruction, and study hard and successfully, too, from the time he is ten years old till he is thirty, and come out without knowing definitely how the magistrate or clerk of his own county is appointed, or how the President of the Republic is chosen. So much for the schools.

And as to the pulpit, the next great organ of public instruction, it is considered a sort of treason, ever to even refer to the subject in the "sacred dark," except down South, of late, they are getting to deem it quite orthodox, it seems, to preach treason out and out, against the government. But the next organ of public intelligence—the press—if regarded as a whole, is still worse, as every one

knows. Few men, it is known, can afford to take the papers and read them on all sides; as an inevitable consequence, each man, as a general rule, either from choice or from necessity, reads only the strictly *exparte* statements and special pleadings of his own party, all of which, oftentimes leaves him a little more ignorant than he would have been, if he had not read at all. Of course, under this state of facts, if the citizen ever really gets at any specific, apposite and reliable political intelligence, he must pick it up in the street, or where he can get it, for it is self-evident that the State has not taken either the least thought, or care, to provide him with it either through the school, the pulpit, or the press; and yet the State mousingly and stupidly, even though truly, affirms that her own very existence depends upon the universal diffusion of such intelligence among all classes of the people!!! Is not this truly marvelous? What if this state should keep saying, for a whole half-century, that military and naval schools; arsenals and dock-yards; men-of-war, and an organized militia, are indispensable to her own existence, and still never move a finger to supply either, because we have A, B, C schools: some men have shot-guns and tow-boats; and some boys pop-guns and bow and arrows; would that be rational? Or does the State assume that the bare grammars, languages, ologies and tologies, isms and scisms, of our schools and our seats, backed up by the weekly good round lies of their partisan presses, constitute exactly the sort of intelligence needful to the wants and duties of an American citizen, and adequate to the safety of the Republic? What then shall be done? I cannot say what can be done and what ought to be done; but I can suggest one course of policy that might have been originated at the outset of the government, which would have been, at least, in some degree, consistent with the declaration that intelligence is indispensable to Republicanism. But whether, with all our vested and antagonistic rights, or, at least, claims of right, it would be possible to institute any such safeguards now, I cannot say, for I am really too ignorant of the whole field to be able to judge even for myself. But some of our best statesmen can surely tell, or, at least, suggest some REMEDY for this great and appalling inconsistency and evil.

Suppose, at the outset of the government there had been proposed a series of plain and simple political class books, explaining and illustrating by apposite and interesting concrete cases, and anecdotes, all the great fundamental and practical principles of free-

dom, and of our republican constitutions and governments, suited to the capacities and ages of our children, and introduced and taught in all our schools, and read in all our families and social circles. Would not these be as interesting, and useful, and important to the American citizen, and furnish him as good MENTAL DISCIPLINE, and as apposite POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE, as the study of the laws and customs of Greece, or Rome, or Kamskatka, or China, or Japan? Again: Suppose our clergymen should occasionally be allowed to enlighten the consciences of their hearers about some solemn, moral, and political duty, instead of calculating the area of Noah's Ark; or the origin of the bow after the flood; or the sort of whale that swallowed Jonah; or the probable sins of the antediluvians; or preaching downright rebellion and treason as they now do in some places at the South; would it be an unpardonable desecration of the Sabbath? But more than all: suppose the government had taken some reliable method, truly to report to its constituents and real sovereigns, its own views, acts, and doings, instead of leaving it to chance whether it was done or not; or to a corrupt partisan press to misstate and misrepresent all facts and all principles just as it pleases. For example: suppose the successful candidate for the Presidency should be obliged by law to nominate and appoint an editor to edit weekly at the capital, ONE SIDE of a large weekly political paper, and the next highest candidate required to edit or appoint an editor for the OTHER SIDE of the same paper, so that every man should find one side of that paper a correction of the other, in all matters of policy, principle, or fact, and thereby be able to judge of the real facts in the case, as a jurymen does when he has heard both sides, and not simply one side of a case in court. Such a paper in the general government, in my opinion, would diffuse more specific, apposite, and reliable political intelligence among our people than all our schools, papers, orators and presses of the land, ever have done, or ever can do, under our present reckless and senseless system, if indeed, that deserves the name of system, which is in fact, only "chaos worse confounded." But, at any rate, if intelligence is indispensable to a Republican government, as diversities of interests and populations, increase all hope of such freedom, must inevitably perish, without some more effective mode of diffusing that intelligence, than we have ever had as yet. Such papers might be either furnished at the public expense to every voter, or safely left to be purchased by them at

such cheap rates as the government could well afford. The practical result of these would be simply a weekly report to the voters—the professed sovereigns of the land—of the views and doings of their agents in power, on the one side of the paper, and a searching practical commentary of those views and doings, by their political opponents, on the other side of the same weekly paper; only embodying the same principle in the legislative and executive branches of the government, involving the annual interests of thirty millions of people and hundreds of millions of money, which is now thought so indispensable, in every judicial case where the juryman is to decide on even the value of a dog, or of a plug of tobacco, namely: that he should hear both sides simultaneously argued, and thus be put in possession of information or intelligence which is apposite, specific, and reliable, in the case on hand; and what other sort of intelligence is of the least practical present use, to any man, in any case on earth? For more than half a century now, this government has been saying that its very existence depended on the universal diffusion of such intelligence, (that is if its language means anything worth saying or worth hearing,) and still it has never taken the first rational step towards granting that indispensable supply: the people have asked for bread, and it has given them, in this line, only stones and scorpions; the one in lifeless and useless generalities, which they could neither masticate nor digest; the other in a fiery partisan press, which bit and poisoned, instead of nurturing and strengthening them; and even to this hour the government has no available reliable means, of even showing to one-half of the Union what the other half really thinks, wants, believes, proposes, and intends, or what is the real basis of its own policy, no more than the chief sachem of the Cherokees has. Such papers would be sought and read by all classes; and as they would be edited by the first men in the nation, and as every falsehood, or mere pretense, or appeal, to low partisan prejudice and passion, on one side of the paper, would be exposed and rebuked on the other; it would not only tend to assuage the passions, and elevate the tastes of all parties alike, but it would correspondingly elevate the general tone of the entire political press of the nation; and if circulated gratuitously to every voter, who would pay the postage on it, it is doubtful whether the whole expense to the government would be much greater than our present system, of franking mere partizan papers and documents. The probable

effects on the present political press might, perhaps, array an opposition against it, under one pretense or another, on merely selfish grounds: just as all improvements meet the steady, selfish opposition of those parties on whose personal interests it is feared they may, in some manner, trench; and some pretext of benevolence or philanthropy is, therefore, at once set up against them. But if so, it would only show, the more clearly, the real spirit of our present press, and the real necessity for some such move in behalf of the people and institutions of the country. An editor who has any conscious self-respect, need not fear any such paper, but has every reason to hail and welcome it as the most desirable of all coadjutors and allies; and the quicker those who have none are out of the way, the better: at least for the public. Of course such a paper would have nothing to do with advertisements, or mere local or ordinary interests of any sort; it would only be the government's own weekly political report to its constituents, attended with a constant commentary from the opposition, in such form as to give it the practical effect of able and opposing council in the great legislative forum of the nation, and thereby insuring the confidence and intelligence of the great body of these legislative jurors of the nation more fully than it will ever be possible to do under our present utter destitution of all system, and even of all effort to attain one, on this confessedly vital and fundamental interest. Why not be consistent, and conform our legislative department of the government to the judicial in principle, as it now is, or else give over one-half of our jurors to the facts and special pleadings of the counsel on one side, and the other half to that of the counsel on the other side, or leave both sides to pick up their information in the street or from the popular press, as they can best find it; for it is self-evident that accurate, specific and reliable intelligence is not as important, in deciding the value of a horse, or even the fate of a single man, as it is in acting upon the constant and complex rights and interests of thirty millions of men; and even if we cannot secure the same certainty and the same system in one case as in the other, does that prove that nothing should be either done or attempted? It seems to me that if such a position is not too absurd for rational beings longer to tolerate, its necessary and inevitable results are too near at hand to be much longer resisted, if indeed they are not already fearfully and fatally upon us. Does any rational man really believe that if we had had such an organ in all

times past, it would have been possible to have thrown us into our present demoralized, absurd, di-tracted and contemptible position? so pitiable, that even the Cherokee Indians regard and treat our government with utter contempt. At this rate, how long will it be before the negroes, too, will try their hand at it? If history teaches lessons of truth, it cannot be a great while. The massacres of St. Domingo began first in a conflict for supremacy between the rival masters, and ended in the revolt of the negroes and the destruction of both of the ruling parties. No man who has any intelligent regard for the highest and best ultimate good of either party or either race, can look with complacency upon the inauguration of such a train of causes on this continent. But how are the frequent repetition of such disasters to be forestalled and prevented? There are only two possible ways: the one by an increase of force; the other by an increase of such INTELLIGENCE as is above described, for it is self-evident that the increase of the bare general intelligence diffused by the school, the pulpit and the press, as now used, has no tendency whatever to correct the evil, as we see from the appalling fact that our political degeneracy and corruption has steadily increased with the increase of their power; and the most consummate scoundrels we have in the land—our boldest and most daring and successful defaulters, knaves, robbers, thieves and traitors—are not only found in our most highly educated classes, but some of them even in the very sanctuaries of our schools and sects. Shall we, then, invoke force, and organize anew our police of forts, arsenals, armies and navies, or shall we attempt some new method of inspiring the masses of our people with a higher degree of more specific and reliable political intelligence, so that their honest impulses, as well as their selfish interests, may have some sort of a fair chance to operate as a constant and steady check to the necessary corruptions of power, instead of falling as inefficient and hopeless tools into its hands for the worst uses and ends.

Reader, would you yourself like such a paper? Or do you prefer to be the mere hoodwinked tool of some particular party, and its mere partisan press? Then why should you not have one? You could have it at less than half the cost you now pay for papers not half as able, interesting, instructive or valuable; and if you and all others would simply say so, it could be had, with far less cost and more advantage than our present absurd system of insipid negligence and indifference to all inevitable laws, and all consequent

direful results. Which is really guilty of the most consummate folly, that nation that should professedly base its rule on force, and rely on the general forces of the schools, of gravity, electricity, &c., to sustain it, without any specific and reliable organized force directed to the precise end in view; or that nation which bases its rule on intelligence, and relies on the same general and vague intelligence of the schools, without even an effort to make that intelligence either reliable, or specific, or apposite to the end in view? If the folly in the one case is more apparent than in the other, it is only because the thing relied upon in the one case is more sensuous and gross, and therefore better understood, and more easily seen and felt; and not not because the actual folly is any more real. Does not all the world know that any amount of knowledge, any sum total of means whatever, is in all cases alike totally useless, unless first efficiently directed to the specific ends to be accomplished? The mere storing up of a sort of general intelligence has not one whit more of a tendency either to save or relieve us, in any particular crisis, than the mere storing away of gunpowder in all the shops and houses of the land would have a tendency to save us in time of war, without specifically applying it to a single gun. It only renders it so much the more easy for our enemies to blow us all up together; for an accumulated, unused and unguarded power, of whatever sort, whether material or spiritual, must always, by law of nature and by ordinance of God, prove only a dangerous power; for it his will that no power whatever should be safe, unless fully applied to its apposite use.

Hence, the very increase of our general intelligence has only proved in fact a political curse to us, simply because we have refused, or at least neglected, to even attempt to apply it to its appropriate ends.

Nor is it the least disparagement to our predecessors that they did not perceive all these things; for God opens the great book of the eternities to mortal men, one leaf at a time. Our fathers nobly saw and nobly read the page presented to them. It is not their fault that they could neither see nor read the one opened to us; and if we fail to do so, the fault must be forever our own, and not that of those who have gone before, or of those who shall come after us.

Freemen of the land! awake, arise, look and see! Read, reflect, and act, or be forever fallen!!

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